



Greens Take Their Seats in Parliament in Bonn

West Germany's Greens made their debut in Parliament Tuesday. At left, Dieter Drabinski and Gert Jannsen, like most members of the ecological party, disregarded traditional dress code. Their leader, Petra Kelly, above at left, chatted with Marilise Beck-Oberdorf, also a Green, as Chancellor Helmut Kohl, right, and Rainer Barzel, both Christian Democrats, welcomed President Karl Carstens. Page 2.

New Inquest Ordered in Calvi's Death

U.K. Court Quashes Jury's Suicide Ruling

LONDON — Three High Court judges ordered Tuesday a new inquest into the death of the fugitive Italian financier, Roberto Calvi. They quashed a British inquest jury's verdict that he had killed himself.

Mr. Calvi's family claim that he may have been murdered.

Mr. Calvi, who had close links with the Vatican bank, was found dead under a London bridge on June 18.

Three days earlier Mr. Calvi, 62, head of the failed Banco Ambrosiano, Italy's largest private banking group, had fled from Rome where he faced a four-year prison sentence for allegedly mismanaging \$20 million out of the country.

Britain's lord chief justice, Lord Lane, said that he had ordered the new inquest because of irregularities in the conduct of the July hearing.

The High Court decision came on the second day of an appeal by Mr. Calvi's family that the suicide verdict should be overturned because, they said, vital evidence had not been presented to the nine-member inquest jury.

The family's attorney, George Carman, had called the suicide verdict a "positive miscarriage of justice." He said that the coroner, Dr. David Paul, had rushed the hearing with "unseemly haste."

Mr. Calvi's son, Carlo, said in a sworn statement Monday that his father may have been murdered to silence him because the younger Calvi said his father had planned an appeal against his conviction to "name names" in multimillion-dollar financial frauds.

Shortly before Mr. Calvi's death, Italy's central bank had asked him



Roberto Calvi

to explain \$1.2 billion in high-risk loans to three Latin American countries and Caribbean subsidiaries of his bank.

Mr. Calvi's widow, Clara, said after Tuesday's judgment: "I'm very satisfied with this result." On Monday, the Calvi family said that as Roman Catholics they regarded the suicide verdict as a "grave moral slur."

Mrs. Calvi said that she will attend the inquest to present fresh evidence. She did not elaborate.

There have been continuing allegations that Banco Ambrosiano, which collapsed last year, was at the center of a web of international financial frauds.

In a report to a Milan court Monday, Italian medical examiners said that suicide was the most likely cause of Mr. Calvi's death. They said that they could not support the family's claim that he might have been murdered.

Mr. Carman said Monday that evidence has emerged since July supporting the murder claim.

90 Banks Are Suing

Reuters reported from Rome Tuesday that lawyers said that more than 90 banks are suing Nuovo Banco Ambrosiano, the successor of the failed bank headed by Mr. Calvi, for more than \$300 million in compensation.

Bishops Accuse Zimbabwe Army Of 'Reign of Terror,' Ask Probe

By Jay Ross
Washington Post Service

HARARE, Zimbabwe — The Catholic Church accused Zimbabwean Army troops on Tuesday of killing "hundreds and hundreds of innocent people" in a "reign of terror" in the southwestern part of the country.

The condemnation, issued as a pastoral letter by the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference, is the first public criticism of government and military actions by an independent organization since reports of army atrocities began filtering out of Matabeland two months ago.

Until now, church and nongovernment relief organizations with representatives in the embattled area had submitted detailed reports to the government complaining about army brutalities against civilians, but they had not made them public in hopes that corrective action might be taken quietly. Privately, they have estimated that more than 1,000 civilians have been killed in an army offensive against dissidents.

The pastoral letter, to be made public in Catholic churches over Easter week, said: "Violent reaction against dissident activity has, to our certain knowledge, brought about the maiming and death of hundreds and hundreds of innocent people who are neither dissidents nor collaborators."

Officials have criticized the numerous foreign press reports of atrocities as sensationalism and accused the press and nongovernmental organizations of working for Nkomo's party, the Zimbabwe African People's Union.

Mr. Mugabe met Monday with

representatives of the bishops, four of whom are black, and was informed about the letter, a church official said. Members of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace said Tuesday they were heartened by the meeting. They said the prime minister reiterated that alleged atrocities would be investigated.

A government official said he thought the statement would not change the situation. A priest, however, said he was hopeful that the letter "might do some good" in ending the killings.

The statement said: "The facts point to a reign of terror caused by wanton killings, woundings, beatings, burnings and rapings. Many homes have been burned down. People in rural areas are starving not only because of the drought but because in some cases supplies of food have been deliberately cut off and in other cases access to food supplies has been restricted or stopped."

The church presented similar pastoral letters criticizing atrocities during the white-minority regime of Prime Minister Ian Smith. A bishop and several priests were expelled from the country under Mr. Smith.

About one-seventh of the country's 7.5-million population are Catholic, making Catholicism the largest single Christian denomination in Zimbabwe.

Mr. Mugabe met Monday with

Reagan Sends Moscow Compromise Arms Plan

President Says Ban on Missiles Is Still His Goal

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan said Tuesday that there has been no change in the ultimate U.S. goal of eliminating all intermediate-range missiles from Europe.

Mr. Reagan sent a compromise arms proposal to Soviet negotiators in Geneva on Tuesday in hopes of breaking the deadlock on limiting medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, a senior administration official said. His proposal, outlined by Paul H. Nitze, the chief U.S. negotiator, calls for an interim agreement that falls short of Mr. Reagan's zero option to eliminate all medium-range missiles from Europe.

In Geneva, Yuli A. Kvitsinsky, the Soviet negotiator, said only as he left Tuesday's hour-long meeting, "I'm not very optimistic. Let's wait and see." Aides to Mr. Nitze refused to confirm that any new proposals had been advanced.

In an interview Tuesday with six newspaper reporters in the Oval Office, Mr. Reagan said, "We've never retreated from our position to deploy on schedule" medium-range missiles in Europe by the end of the year.

He said he would make a statement to NATO representatives at the White House on Wednesday, apparently to outline the interim proposal put on the negotiating table at Geneva.

The United States made the offer to the Soviet Union at the final session in Geneva before a recess until May 17.

"We've made no change in our ultimate goal but beyond that I can't speak until tomorrow," Mr. Reagan said.

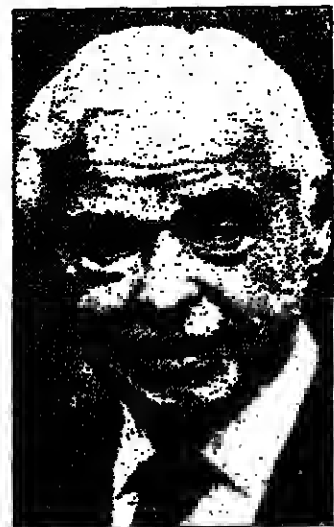
Administration officials said earlier that Mr. Reagan's new proposal would limit the number of medium-range missiles both sides have in Europe, although it does not cite specific numbers.

Mr. Reagan shrugged off statements by Yuli V. Andropov, the Soviet leader, who said Mr. Reagan was not speaking the truth in his national security address March 23 when he emphasized a Soviet military threat.

He also defended strong statements in his speech March 8 to an evangelical group in which he called the Soviet Union an "evil empire."

Mr. Reagan noted the United States remains in communication with the Soviet Union and that the

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Paul H. Nitze



Yuli A. Kvitsinsky

Experts See Potential For a New Cold War

By Dusko Doder
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — The bitter public exchanges recently between President Ronald Reagan and the Soviet leader, Yuri V. Andropov, appear to foreshadow a new and more serious crisis in U.S.-Soviet relations and the possible advent of a second Cold War.

This is the view of Soviet and foreign political observers in Moscow following Mr. Reagan's description on March 8 of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" and his proposal on March 23 to base nuclear deterrence on a new anti-ballistic missile system. (Why Mr. Reagan's speeches are harsh. Page 3.)

Even discounting rhetoric, the Russians seem to have decided that meaningful arms control talks are becoming more elusive and that the logic of the two sides' respective positions makes a new round of the arms race virtually inevitable.

Such a conclusion was suggested by Mr. Andropov's response on March 26, in which he questioned not only the sincerity of Mr. Reagan's intentions but also the rationality of his basic assumptions.

The harshness of Mr. Andropov's remarks about the president is virtually without precedent since the days of the Cold War. While the Soviet media have assailed U.S. presidents in bitter terms, top Soviet leaders have resorted extremely rarely to direct personal attacks on their U.S. counterparts.

As seen from Moscow, Mr. Reagan has escalated the dispute about the scheduled deployment beginning later this year of medium-range missiles in Western Europe. The Russians have indicated that the deployment of 108 Pershing-2 missiles in West Germany could lead to a crisis in relations that would be similar to the Cuban missile crisis in 1962.

But they have also let it be known that they could live with the deployment in West Germany and four other North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries of 464 cruise missiles — which are much slower than the Pershings and thus easier to defend against.

Mr. Reagan's proposal to develop more sophisticated anti-ballistic missile systems, including basing them in space, has raised a new issue. Mr. Andropov and other Soviet officials have made it clear that they would match any U.S. weapons system.

The Russians now see Mr. Reagan as preparing for confrontation and applying pressure on the Soviet economy in order to weaken it and force a reduction of its military potential.

In pursuing this policy, according to this view, Mr. Reagan is ex-

aggerating Moscow's military strength while overemphasizing its internal problems.

Both Mr. Andropov and Leonid I. Brezhnev, the late Soviet president, have made it clear that they were prepared to go to any length to maintain parity with the United States. One long-time observer remarked after the Andropov statement, "The Russians are prepared to go to a nuclear confrontation and die holding the concept of parity close to their hearts."

Although Washington can do little to affect internal Soviet policies, Mr. Reagan's confrontational approach is likely to have an impact on internal Kremlin arguments.

There have been some curious signals in the past few days. One was the promotion of Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko to the post of first deputy prime minister.

The other involved the promotions of four senior Soviet generals, including the commander of Soviet rocket forces, Vladimir F. Tolubko, who were given the rank of marshal.

Speculation here is that these steps mean a greater centralization of authority for what is expected to be a showdown with the United States, and to reflect the growing importance of the military.

In the past, whenever the Soviet leaders have seen themselves challenged, they have responded by concentrating on a military buildup.

They did so in the 1940s, when the United States became the first to acquire atomic weapons; they did it again after their humiliating retreat in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

On the other hand, Kremlin leaders have opted for accommodation when they saw possibilities for it. They did so after Stalin's death in 1953 and again with the advent of détente in the early 1970s. Some major problems were resolved in these periods, including the Korean War and the status of Germany.

Mr. Brezhnev's death and high-level U.S.-Soviet contacts produced an interlude of expectations here that an accommodation with the United States might be possible. Moreover, the Russians expected that this month's West German elections could produce a parliamentary majority for the Social Democrats and the Greens, the ecological party, thus possibly delaying the deployment of the new U.S. missiles.

In retrospect, it would seem that Moscow has misjudged the strength of links between the United States and Western Europe. The resounding victory of the Christian Democrats in West Germany seems also to have raised questions

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EC Offers Concessions On Greek Membership

By Andriana Ierodiakonou
International Herald Tribune

ATHENS — The Commission of European Communities agreed Tuesday a special financial and administrative regime for Greece on the way that may persuade the government of Andreas Papandreu to remain in the EC.

The EC plan, described by a "special" as "a sort of Marshall Plan for Greece," came in response to a year ago. In that time, Greece asked in essence for its entry terms.

Mr. Papandreu became the ninth member of the EC in January 1981, under the conservative New Democracy Party that lost to Mr. Papandreu's Panhellenic Socialist Movement in legislative elections in October 1981.

The Socialists called during the campaign for a referendum on EC membership. But it apparently was dropped in favor of a plan to ask for concessions.

There are strong indications that Mr. Papandreu, who is on an official visit to Canada, will accept the commission proposal. Mr. Papandreu is a member of the Campbell-Dunlop family of the

reportedly as a concession during consultations last month that are nearing a conclusion in the EC. The proposals

which must be approved by the EC's Council of Ministers, earmark about 450 million European Currency Units in aid to Greece over four years, starting in 1984. The ECU is worth a little more than 92 cents. This would be in addition to 2.5 billion ECUs for the same period under a program designed to benefit poorer Mediterranean members of the EC.

The commission also allowed for Greece's continued delay in applying EC regulations, by calling for joint talks on the issue. "This is a big political concession because essentially it means Greece can continue to violate Community law without being taken to court," an EC official said. "The commission's proposals add up to a very good package; in return we are hinting strongly that Greece should get off the fence as far as its commitment to the EC is concerned."

By normalizing relations with the EC, Mr. Papandreu would also appease Constantine Caramanlis, Greece's widely respected conservative president. Mr. Caramanlis was the principal architect of Greece's EC membership.

It has been reported here that Mr. Caramanlis would probably have been unwilling to call a referendum on EC membership.

Diplomatic analysts have said that a Papandreu commitment to remain in the EC would also be viewed favorably by Greece's partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Greece's ties with the alliance have been strained in recent months.

HONG KONG CLASH — Squatters battled police on the edge of a building Tuesday in Hong Kong after

government officials tried to evict more than 250 persons living in illegal huts. Thirty-seven were injured.

U.S. Is Virtually Isolated in Security Council Debate on Nicaragua

By Bernard D. Nossiter
New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — After several days of occasionally heated debate on the fighting in Nicaragua, the United States has become virtually isolated in the UN Security Council in its attempts to portray the conflict as an internal Nicaraguan affair.

Such close allies of the United States as the Netherlands, Spain and Pakistan have indicated they do not accept the Reagan administration's assessment of events in Nicaragua and have indirectly reproached Washington for what they regard as a U.S.-backed effort to overthrow the Managua government.

Only Honduras and El Salvador — which are UN members but not on the Security Council — have stood firmly with the United States. The Honduran foreign minister, Edgardo Paz Barmica, said Monday that "Nicaraguans are fighting Nicaraguans on Nicaragu-

an soil" and denounced Nicaraguan "provocations and threats against Honduras."

El Salvador's foreign minister, Fidel Chavez Mendez, told the council his government had been menaced by "a continued transfer

Sandinist reaction to guerrilla raids seems out of proportion to the military threat. Page 5.

of weapons" to Salvadoran insurgents in which Nicaragua is "the last link in a chain."

Britain, now presiding over the council, has not yet spoken. France has carefully avoided an overt judgment. But Philippe Louet, France's deputy delegate, praised as "a remarkable speech" a Mexican plea that the "sponsors" of the Nicaraguan incursion abandon their "dangerous enterprise."

The Soviet bloc and its allies have been more blunt. Raul Roa Kouri, Cuba's UN ambassador, compared the infiltration into Nicaragua to the Bay of

Pigs episode of 1961 in which armed exiles supported by the United States sought to land in Cuba.

The organizer, financier, supplier and abettor was then, as now, the imperialist government of the United States, its Pentagon and its Central Intelligence Agency," he said.

On the council with its five permanent members — the United States, the Soviet Union, France, Britain and China — are Nicaragua, Poland, Zaire, Togo, Pakistan, Guyana, Zimbabwe, Jordan, Malta and the Netherlands.

The council was summoned to a meeting by Nicaragua last week. Managua complained that infiltrating insurgents threaten to draw Nicaragua into a war with Honduras. The Sandinist government has said it does not seek a council resolution but merely a forum to make known its alarm.

The harsh language of the Soviet bloc has caused the U.S. mission

far less concern than the failure of such nations as Colombia or Ecuador to accept Washington's version of events.

The United States has suggested that the incursions were motivated by the Nicaraguan exiles' hostility toward the Sandinist government because of its suppression of civil liberties.

Ambassador Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, the chief U.S. delegate, put this view in the form of a rhetorical question. "Is it any wonder," she asked, "that the Nicaraguan people, versed as they are in recognizing tyrants, would turn increasingly against those whom they originally believed to be their liberators?"

Mrs. Kirkpatrick, some officials here say, appears to have been stung by the prevailing air of disbelief. China, Mexico, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, China, Panama and Pakistan, she described these countries as either victims or purveyors of "systematic bias, systematic lies, systematic redefinition of key po-

litical values and distortion of the key political processes" of the council.

Liang Yufan of China replied that "this is the very despicable style of a superpower to 'accuse' all delegations that do not agree with the mistaken policy of the United States government."

No U.S. Denial
Bernard Gertman of The New York Times reported from Washington.

Reagan administration officials have acknowledged that they were doing nothing to dispel the impression that the United States is covertly supporting the anti-Sandinist forces.

One official said Monday that by allowing this impression to persist, the administration hopes to cause problems for the Nicaraguan leadership and to persuade it to diminish its backing for guerrilla forces in El Salvador.

Amid repeated press reports and Nicaraguan government alleg-

tions of CIA backing for the anti-Sandinist forces operating principally from Honduras, the State Department has steadfastly refused to deny or confirm the U.S. involvement.

But administration officials conceded that the pointed refusal of the administration to deny U.S. involvement has had the effect of appearing to substantiate the reports.

"It is a longstanding practice of this and other administrations not to address allegations of this sort," Alan D. Romberg, a department spokesman, said Monday.

One administration official acknowledged that there was "a bit of psychological warfare here."

The United States, the official said, was interested in raising doubts in the minds of the Nicaraguan leadership about the extent of U.S. involvement in the hope that this would force the Nicaraguans to agree to stop their aid to the insurgents fighting in El Salvador.

Ghana Moderates Its Radical Politics to Save the Economy

By Jonathan C. Randal
Washington Post Service

ACCRA, Ghana — Fourteen months after seizing power with a vow to conduct a "holy war" to reestablish Ghana as one of Africa's most advanced and prosperous states, the once-radical rulers are moderating their ambitions in keeping with the country's dire economic plight.

Once the richest and most literate nation in black Africa, Ghana has been reduced to bare subsistence, the elite either disaffected or gone abroad to survive, its farmers refusing to grow cash crops in exchange for worthless money.

Jerry J. Rawlings, the country's 35-year-old military leader, and his associates on the Provisional National Defense Council are beset by problems inherited from five military and three civilian regimes and compounded by their own indecision. But it was Nigeria's deportation of hundreds of thousands of Ghanaians in January that seems to have shocked the govern-

ment into embarking on moderation. The expulsion created sympathy in the West, and Western aid, often from nongovernmental organizations and charities, has allowed Ghana to cope. For the first time, Mr. Rawlings and his advisers are saying nice things about the West. Mr. Rawlings even criticized the local press for its anti-Western bias, a clear sign that he knew most of the aid was not coming from the Soviet bloc.

Faced with meeting the needs of the deportees from Nigeria, Mr. Rawlings has postponed or canceled many of the government's plans to nationalize all import trade and the transportation system and extend government control of private banks.

Even the International Monetary Fund, long denounced as the ultimate tool of American imperialism, has been accepted. Kwesi Botchway, the finance and economic planning secretary, returned from Washington in late February with a memorandum of understanding with the fund that could provide

\$300 million in assistance and the first serious hope of rescuing the economy.

The quarter century since Ghana's first independent leader, Kwame Nkrumah, took power from Britain to 1957 provides a textbook case of how to ruin an economy.

Along with independence came foreign exchange reserves of more than \$300 million, thanks to careful colonial handovering of Ghana's diamonds, gold mines, timber and cocoa.

But once the inheritance was run through, Ghana's economic decline began. The currency proved increasingly vulnerable, in part because of bad management and corruption and in part because of the strong, French-backed currencies of the former French colonies that surrounded it.

Revolving-door governments, each adding another layer of civil servants, further weakened the economy. So did special import licenses that were a boon to the few at the expense of the country.

Importing rice, corn, sugar and

other staples at the artificial exchange rate made producing them locally uneconomical. Agriculture in many cases literally went back to bush.

Mr. Rawlings, who in a fit of moral outrage seized power in 1979 only to abandon it to a corrupt civilian government after 112 days, staged the Dec. 31, 1981, coup determined to carry out a revolution to Ghana. He borrowed \$96 million from Libya for badly needed oil, but despite his enemies' accusations, he seems too much a nationalist to be taken to by Colonel Moammar Qadhafi.

Inflation last year was 116 percent by conservative official estimate, and it is soaring again under the pressure of the unskilled thousands returning from Nigeria without jobs or money.

Raw materials are available only in tiny quantities. Industrial production has sunk to 10 percent of capacity. World prices for cocoa, which accounts for about 60 percent of foreign exchange earnings, continue to fall. A bloated bureaucracy swallows half to two-

thirds of the government budget, which is encumbered with a growing deficit.

Industrial diamond production declined a third last year to its lowest level since independence, and gold extraction in 1982 was only a third of 1960 output. The gross national product has declined in each of the past five years, most markedly in 1982.

Once a food exporter, Ghana cannot feed itself. The rains failed last year and are late in many parts of the country this year.

There is next to nothing on store shelves — no batteries, no toilet paper, no soap, no regular supply of beer, no light bulbs, no matches, no vegetables, no bread, no tires, no drugs, no textiles, no fertilizers or insecticides.

The transportation system has gone to ruin and is incapable of moving cash crops to market.

Cocoa production has reached its lowest level in generations because farmers prefer to grow subsistence crops instead of selling at artificially low prices to a government that pays in unredeemable

chits. The government estimates that between 1980 and 1982 production of corn declined by 48 percent, rice by 72 percent, cassava by nearly 23 percent, yams by 44 percent and poultry by 81 percent.

The economy rests on the official value of the currency, the cedi, which is pegged at 2.75 to the dollar although it is traded at 30 times that on the black market. The Rawlings government hates the word "devaluation," which has come to signify an invitation to stage a coup d'etat.

No one knows that better than Mr. Rawlings, for he overthrew President Hilla Limann in 1981 because he was about to devalue the cedi to exchange for help from the IMF and other institutions.

Mr. Botchway still refuses to devalue the cedi formally, but has dreamed up an elaborate backdoor devaluation involving multiple exchange rates, bonuses for exports and surcharges on imports. It is that system, to be administered by the rigorous Bank of Ghana, that the IMF tentatively has given its blessing to.

WORLD BRIEFS

Zhao Calls U.S. Ties Unimproved

BEIJING (UPI) — Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang told U.S. congressmen Tuesday that Chinese-American relations were unsatisfactory and were not improved by Secretary of State George P. Shultz's visit last month.

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, leader of the 15-member delegation, later acknowledged that differences remained and said that "resolving them must be one of the highest priorities of my government."

Mr. Zhao was quoted by the Chinese news agency as saying, "The condition [of relations] has not improved after the joint communiqué issued on Aug. 17, 1982, and Secretary of State George Shultz's China visit last February." The communiqué was supposed to have eased a serious strain over the Reagan administration's support for Taiwan by pledging the United States to gradually reduce arms sales to the island.

In a "campaign document" of Labor's official positions, the party committed itself to withdrawal from the European Community and said it would adopt "a massive program" of public spending to curb unemployment.

The document envisions Britain remaining in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization but says the alliance should "develop a nonnuclear strategy." It pledges to refuse deployment of cruise missiles, order any already in place to be removed and cancel Britain's purchase of U.S. Trident submarines.

Labour is Britain's second largest party in Parliament, and although trailing the Conservatives in polls, remains a contender for recapturing a majority in the next election, which some observers feel will be held later this year.

Bulgarian Rejects Charge on Pope

ROME (UPI) — A Bulgarian official swore Tuesday that his nation's intelligence service had nothing to do with the attempt to kill Pope John Paul II and said there is conclusive evidence that the chief assassin is a liar.

The assertions were made at a news conference by Ludmil Popov, the chargé d'affaires who has been running the Bulgarian Embassy in Rome since its ambassador returned home in December. He said he is certain of the innocence of Sergei Ivanov Antonov, the former Bulgarian air force chief in Rome who was arrested Nov. 25 on charges of complicity in the papal assassination plot.

The accusations against Mr. Antonov, 35, and two Bulgarian Embassy officials have been made by Mehmet Ali Agca, 24, the Turkish gunman who shot the pope May 13, 1981, and who is now serving a life sentence in an Italian prison. Mr. Antonov's lawyers said they had evidence proving that Mr. Agca lied when he allegedly told Italian investigators the shooting of the pope was planned in Mr. Antonov's apartment May 10, 1981.

U.S. Losing Saudi Poultry Trade

RIYADH (Reuters) — The U.S. agriculture secretary, John R. Block, said Tuesday that his country is being cut almost completely out of the Saudi poultry market by a price war between Brazil and European Community.

The United States is also losing wheat sales due to European Community subsidies, he said. He also said the U.S. share of the \$7-billion Saudi market for grain and poultry imports was now only about \$450 million a year. He said he would have talks with officials aimed at increasing the U.S. share of these markets.

He said he is under domestic pressure to compete in the Saudi poultry market and subsidized poultry sales were a possibility, but he had no plans to talk about such a deal during his present visit. On Monday Mr. Block announced a \$50-million credit to Egypt to buy U.S. corn and tobacco. He said he had concluded a deal made in January to sell Egypt one million tons of subsidized wheat flour. Egypt is traditionally a European grain customer and Louis Eyrard, a U.S. member of the EC's agriculture committee, vowed Monday to match the U.S. deal.

Soares Releases Socialist Platform

LISBON (Reuters) — Portugal's former Socialist prime minister, Mario Soares, released a list of measures Tuesday that he plans to put through if his party is elected to the April 25 general elections.

The Socialist's main goal is to secure a dialogue among the government, trade unions and employers to give Portugal's economy a chance to recover, Mr. Soares said at a meeting to announce the plan.

His plan listed 100 measures to be pushed through within three months of forming a government, including the abolition of the 17-percent wage ceiling and the revision of the law that bans private ownership of Portuguese banks and insurance companies. Feuding between the rightist parties of the coalition government has almost insured that the Socialists will win the elections.

Visits to Graves Worry Falklanders

LONDON (UPI) — Residents of the Falkland Islands are deeply concerned about Britain's decision to allow a group of Argentines to visit the graves of their war dead on the islands, officials said Tuesday.

The islands' legislative council was to meet late Tuesday to discuss the Foreign Office decision to allow the visit next month as long as it is humanitarian in nature and supervised completely by the International Committee of the Red Cross, a spokeswoman for the Falkland Islands Government Office said.

"The main thing they're really worried about is that the people coming in to visit the graves are actually the family of the soldiers who died," she said. "They're worried that the people who come are genuine and not just tourists or people who want to use the visit for propaganda."

Lebanese Reject More Concessions

BEIRUT (Combined Dispatches) — Lebanese Muslim leaders declared Tuesday that negotiations with Israel over withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon had dragged on long enough and that Lebanon could make no more concessions.

Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan and former Prime Minister Saeed Salam both voiced exasperation with the talks after separate meetings with Philip C. Habib, the U.S. special envoy. Mr. Habib arrived in Beirut Monday from Israel for the latest round in the talks, which have gone on for three months. He later met with President Amin Gemayel.

An Israeli soldier was killed and two others were wounded by unknown gunmen Monday night on an ambush on a mountain road southeast of Beirut, the rightist Phalangist Voice of Lebanon radio said Tuesday.

For the Record

LONDON (Reuters) — Iranian women are to be allowed for the first time to initiate divorce proceedings without the man's consent under a new law passed by the Tehran parliament, Iranian news agency said Monday.

LONDON (Reuters) — Francis Pym, Britain's foreign secretary, will visit Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates next week, government sources said Tuesday. The Foreign Office confirmed only that Pym was arranging a Middle East visit.

ANKARA (Reuters) — A U.S. congressional delegation, headed by Sen. Frank Lautenberg, will arrive in Ankara Monday to assess Turkey's military needs. The delegation will leave on Thursday for Beirut, not Greece, as previously reported, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

New Cold War Is Forecast

(Continued from Page 1)

There is another important fact. Mr. Andropov is not Mr. Brezhnev, and is therefore not wedded to the concept of détente. Moreover, he owes his present position to a large extent to the armed forces.

The Russians would prefer not to go into another round of the arms race, knowing that it would add new burdens to an already shaky economy. In this context, Moscow has not closed the door to Mr. Reagan. Soviet diplomacy rarely closes doors to any option. This was made clear recently by

Kohl Is Installed as Chancellor In a 271-214 Vote by Bundestag

By Henry Tanner
International Herald Tribune

BONN — Helmut Kohl took over officially as West Germany's new chancellor Tuesday at the head of a three-party coalition that won such a stunning victory in the national election on March 6 that many politicians here believe it may well stay in power for eight or more years, at least two parliamentary terms.

In a parliamentary vote Tuesday that installed him in office, Mr. Kohl received 271 votes in the Bundestag. There were 214 votes against and one abstention, for a total of 486 valid votes cast. The Bundestag, or lower house, has 498 voting members.

In addition, there are 22 nonvoting members from West Berlin, which does not participate in national elections. These members, however, have the right to take part in the election of the chancellor and the president and vice president of the chamber, and their votes are counted separately.

On Tuesday, 21 of them ex-

ercised this right, 11 voting for Mr. Kohl and 10 against.

Mr. Kohl took the oath of office immediately after the voting.

With Mr. Kohl's majority never in doubt, attention at the long opening session was focused on the 27 members of the Greens, a loose grouping of peace activists, ecologists and civil rights advocates who had won seats in the national parliament for the first time and whose informal dress and unconventional manner had created forebodings and some hostility among many members of the established political parties.

The Greens, wearing open shirts and sweaters instead of dark suits and ties, were intent on being different from the others but did nothing to disrupt the proceedings. Many of them had placed spring flowers in small pots and vases on their desks.

The Greens won what they considered their first victory Tuesday night after days of wrangling over seating arrangements to the chamber.

The established parties wanted

them to take their seats on the far left of the arena. The Greens protested that they were not leftists but represented the entire political spectrum. If they could not sit in the center, between the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats, their spokesmen declared, they would not be seated at all but would remain standing.

The Greens got support from the Social Democrats, who have been sitting on the left of the house since the founding of Parliament nearly 40 years ago and would not be pushed to the right by anyone.

The outgoing president of the chamber, Richard Stücklen, eventually ruled that the Greens should be given a two-seat strip from top to bottom of the arena, in the middle between Social Democrats and Christian Democrats. This is where they sat Tuesday.

The Greens lost their bid for one of the four vice presidencies of Parliament, however.

Rainer Barzel, a veteran of Mr. Kohl's party, was overwhelmingly elected president of the chamber, with 407 votes against 83. Many opposition Social Democrats voted for him.

The opening session was presided over by Willy Brandt, the former chancellor and oldest member of Parliament.

In his brief and deliberately nonpartisan address, he called on West Germany to play an active role "for peace to Europe and the world."

Industrial nations, he said, should cut back their military spending and use the savings for a "Marshall Plan for developing countries" to the interest of all.

He added that West German action for peace would have to take place "on the basis of existing agreements," a reference to the Western alliance. During and after the election campaign, the Christian Democrats accused the Social Democrats, and particularly Mr. Brandt, who is known to be open to some of the demands of the peace movement, of wanting to remove West Germany from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.



Alexandra Lincoln

U.S. Woman Sentenced in Bern as Spy

United Press International

BERN — Alexandra Lincoln, an American accused of spying for Libya, has been sentenced for political espionage, her Swiss attorney said Tuesday.

The attorney, Hans Wild, said Miss Lincoln, 30, was sentenced at a closed trial in Bern on March 21. Although Mr. Wild refused to announce the length of the sentence, he said it was "minimal and shows that this whole affair was simply a bagatelle, a comedy."

"The sentence will be made public shortly after a final decision on an appeal," he said.

Miss Lincoln was charged with gathering information from Swiss parliamentarians for her boyfriend, Mohammed Malek, a Libyan diplomat. Authorities said she had intimate relations with some members of the parliament who frequented a bar at the Bellevue Palace hotel, where she worked.

Government officials later played down the affair, saying that Miss Lincoln had learned nothing of importance. Mr. Malek was asked to leave Switzerland and has since left the country.

Reagan Offers Russians Compromise Arms Plan

(Continued from Page 1)

two nations are carrying on three separate arms negotiations in Geneva and Vienna. He insisted that in negotiating in Geneva on medium-range missiles to Europe the United States has never operated on a "take it or leave it basis."

The president is expected to make his announcement at the White House Wednesday morning, four hours before he leaves for a five-day trip to California. He is also expected to speak on the new proposal in a speech Thursday in Los Angeles.

The Soviet Union has steadfastly rejected the administration's zero option proposal, and Mr. Reagan has come under increasing pressure from European allies to offer an alternative. The defense chiefs of the

North Atlantic Treaty Organization told Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger last week that Mr. Reagan should come up with a different plan.

The zero option would require the Soviet Union to dismantle all its intermediate-range missiles and the United States to cancel plans to deploy 572 new missiles to Europe beginning in December. As an alternative, Mr. Reagan will suggest a mutual cutback to the number of ground-based nuclear missiles to break the negotiating deadlock, according to the official.

Mr. Reagan's offer had been expected by European leaders who received letters from the White House last week saying the president would propose "a temporary solution" to the limitation of missiles.

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Party Chief Sees Watt as A 'Liability'

2d Strategist Suggests Official Hurt Reagan

By Jack Nelson
Los Angeles Times Service

WASHINGTON — James G. Watt, President Ronald Reagan's combative and controversial interior secretary, has been described as a "political liability" by the Republican National Committee chairman, Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr., the second prominent party strategist in the last 10 days to suggest that Mr. Watt is hurting Mr. Reagan politically.

Mr. Fahrenkopf's remarks were made Monday, the same day that a group of environmental leaders stepped up their attacks on the interior secretary. Although praising Mr. Watt as a loyalist who has faithfully followed Mr. Reagan's "mandate" at the White House, Mr. Fahrenkopf said that "if judged as an asset or a liability on a scale of 10, he would be a liability today." Mr. Fahrenkopf was responding to questions at a press luncheon.

Edward J. Rollins, Mr. Reagan's assistant for political affairs, had previously said that Mr. Watt was becoming a political liability and suggested that the secretary might ultimately resign to spare the administration further damage over its controversial environmental policies.

Despite those statements and even stronger comments along similar lines made earlier by several White House aides who spoke with reporters on the condition that they not be identified, Mr. Watt has continued to enjoy the backing of Mr. Reagan.

In fact, a senior White House official, who declined to be identified, said Monday that despite the statements by Mr. Rollins and Mr. Fahrenkopf, Mr. Watt has "solid support from the president."

Describing Mr. Watt as "the strongest plus we've got among conservatives," the official said that Mr. Watt is in even "stronger shape" with Mr. Reagan because of Anne McGill Burford's recent resignation under fire from her post as administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

The administration, he said, has had enough forced resignations. "It's more important that we pull together," he said.

Despite such support, the White House on Monday pointedly disavowed Mr. Watt's policy of consulting the Republican National Committee before selecting his science advisers. Mr. Watt had said that he saw nothing wrong with seeking Republican advice in selecting scientists for his advisory board.

Asked about the Watt policy, the deputy White House press secretary, Larry M. Speakes, said: "Our basic position... is that scientific advisory groups should call on the best scientific minds regardless of party affiliation or political persuasion."

"We would hope the departments and agencies follow the White House procedure, but it is a decision by the individual secretaries or the agency heads that make these appointments. You'll have to talk to Secretary Watt about his motives... I am not addressing the specific thing about Watt."

Last year, Mr. Watt's office sent the Republican committee a memorandum titled "Appointment Clearance Request" containing the names of 14 scientists being considered for appointment to the Interior Department's nonpartisan advisory committee on offshore oil leasing.

The committee returned the memorandum with four names marked "yes" and 10 marked "no." Those marked "no" were not appointed, although seven were past members of the committee who had sought reappointment.

Reagan Is Urged To Step Up Action On Pornography

WASHINGTON — A group of conservative religious and political leaders has urged President Ronald Reagan to step up the government's enforcement effort against illegal pornography and to appoint a White House "coordinator" to oversee it.

The president, in a private 35-minute session on Monday with the group, Morality in Media, listened receptively to their complaints that pornography laws are not being enforced adequately, said Morton Blackwell, a White House aide. Mr. Blackwell said Mr. Reagan made no firm commitment regarding an anti-pornography coordinator but promised to give the suggestion serious consideration.

Mr. Reagan told the group that his administration had "identified the worst hazardous waste sites in America — we have to do the same with the worst sources of pornography," according to Mr. Blackwell and participants in the meeting. He was quoted by participants as saying: "We must get the most from the laws already on the books."

The Rev. Morton Hill, national president of Morality in Media, said that the immediate reason for meeting with the president was "the \$6-billion sex industry, which is developing at an alarming rate and at the present time is moving into cable television and the American home, so there is a critical situation here."

Behind the Reagan 'Star Wars' Addresses

He and 2 Speech Writers Aim to Stay Faithful to His 'Core Beliefs'

By Juan Williams
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — First, he called the Soviet Union the "evil empire." That is known as the "Darth Vader" speech.

Then, he talked of U.S. laser beams snatching enemy missiles from the sky. That is now called the "Star Wars" speech.

In between, President Ronald Reagan issued a statement saying that the Democratic budget proposal, approved last week by the House, is "a dagger aimed at the heart of the nation and a joy to the Kremlin."

In recent weeks the president's speeches have taken on a bellicose tone that has prompted the Soviet Union to call him a "lunatic" and House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Democrat of Massachusetts, to charge him with resorting to the tactics of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy.

"Reagan's speeches are much more ideological and attacking than any recent presidential speeches," said Hendrik Hertzberg, editor of The New Republic and a former chief speech writer for President Jimmy Carter.

"Something like the speech to the evangelicals is not presidential, it's not something a president should say," Mr. Hertzberg added, referring to a Reagan address on March 8 to a conference of fundamentalist ministers in Orlando, Florida. "If the Russians are infinitely evil and we are infinitely good, then the logical first step is a nuclear first strike. Words like that frighten the American public and antagonize the Soviets. What good is that?"

But administration officials are pleased with the president's performance.

David R. Gergen, the White House director of communications, said Mr. Reagan "knew when he gave that speech to the evangelicals it would draw fire from the left and some sophisticated observers. The president

feels it's very important from time to time for him to talk in terms of fundamentals and basic, core beliefs so that everyone can understand reality as it is seen by the White House."

Some State Department officials, however, were upset that they did not preview the address in Florida, which has been called the "Darth Vader" speech in a reference to the leader of the Empire in the film "Star Wars."

"He is not speaking for Ronald Reagan anymore," said one. "He is speaking for the United States. There is a difference."

The televised "Star Wars" speech last Wednesday was not typical of Mr. Reagan's speeches, both because it was nationally televised and because its key points were largely drafted by National Security Council staff members. Generally, presidential speeches, statements and messages are the work of either Mr. Reagan himself or of Aram Bakshian, 39, director of the six White House speech writers, and Anthony R. Dolan, 34, Mr. Reagan's chief speech writer.

Mr. Dolan, winner of the 1978 Pulitzer Prize for investigative reporting on organized crime in Stamford, Connecticut, joined the Reagan campaign in 1980. He is the brother of Terry Dolan, chairman of the National Conservative Political Action Committee.

Mr. Dolan talked of being inspired by Mr. Reagan.

"The president is amazing," he said. "He is a gifted writer, gifted editor."

Mr. Bakshian was brought into the White House after Mr. Dolan, but given the chief speech writer's job because he is more experienced at speech writing and because key White House aides consider him more moderate.

Mr. Bakshian is known as a fast, smooth writer, and worked for presidents Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford from 1972 to 1975. He raves about the president as an easy

politician to write for because "he has clear values."

"He didn't decide he wanted to be president and then blow with changing currents to get there," Mr. Bakshian said.

While Mr. Bakshian makes sure the speeches get out on time and fit Mr. Reagan, Mr. Dolan brings the heat of conservative conviction to his speech writing.

Mr. Dolan is the hard-line conservative writer, the author of the speech to the evangelicals, although he argued that he cannot be classified so easily. He pointed out that he wrote the 1982 State of the Union address and others not known for hawkish, rightist language.

But his colleagues say he is to Mr. Reagan what Patrick J. Buchanan was to Mr. Nixon. One likened Mr. Dolan to "the wild-eyed, mean dog you use when you don't want them wondering what you said."

According to sources, Mr. Reagan toned down the speech to the evangelicals from the draft Mr. Dolan had submitted.

While working on a 1981 speech on the so-called New Federalism, Mr. Dolan said, he told the president he was going to write that New Federalism would "foster creativity" by returning funds to state and local governments. Mr. Reagan shook his head.

"He said the federal government won't foster it, it would permit," said Mr. Dolan. "That is a profound conservative insight."

He added: "The point the president was making is that government should stay out of people's lives for any reason but to manage the currency and the military."

Besides the speech writing shop, the added factor in any Reagan speech is Mr. Reagan himself. He takes a major part in preparing speeches to be delivered to large audiences. He wrote most of his inaugural address and took a hand in the Orlando speech and the final paragraphs of last week's missile defense speech.

Symposium at Three Mile Island Offers Little Solace Over Danger

By William Robbins
New York Times Service

MIDDLETOWN, Pennsylvania — The cooling towers of the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant were a brooding presence as about 200 people gathered for a scientific symposium on the fourth anniversary of the country's worst nuclear accident.

It was there at 4 A.M. on March 28, 1979, that a pressure-relief valve of the reactor for the plant stuck open, spouting radioactive steam into the atmosphere. The accident created a cloud of fear for many in the area that the intervening years have not dispelled.

Most attending the three-day symposium, which presented international panels of scientists, were from the surrounding area. If they were looking for reassurance on effects of the low-level radiation that escaped from the plant that day, they were getting little Monday.

"There is no safe level of radiation," said Karl Z. Morgan of Appalachian State University, one of the physicists in the Manhattan Project, which developed the atomic bomb.

"There is no threshold" for some forms of genetic damage that can be caused by radiation, "even down in the background level," said Dr. Arthur Upton, professor and chairman of the Institute of Environmental Medicine at New York University.

The concerns of most of the audience seemed to be summed up by a questioner. "Is it safe to plant a garden, to eat the vegetation and drink the water?" she asked. Summing up the answers she seemed to be getting, she said: "I think the answer was there is no answer."

That view, of course, was not unanimous. David Miller, a health physicist for Pennsylvania Power and Light Co., commented later: "I think background levels of radiation are generally regarded as safe."

Some of the liveliest moments came in protests at Mr. Miller's presence on the program. "I didn't come here to hear the same old propaganda from the nuclear power industry," a member of the audience said.

The makeup of the program was defended by David Berger, the lawyer who won a settlement of \$25 million in a class-action suit against the General Public Utilities Corp., owner of the plant. Under a decree, \$5 million was set aside in a public health fund to be used for a variety of purposes, including educational programs.

As the symposium proceeded, the stillness around the distant towers was deceptive. In a nearby control room, five men stand watch over a scene that approached panic four years ago. Around them on the island in the Susquehanna River, about 1,300 workers arrive daily for an assortment of chores necessitated by the accident.

For two hours and 20 minutes there four years ago, the errant valve remained open, and the level of temperature inside the reactor rose to 4,000 degrees. In another 30 minutes it could have reached 6,000 degrees, the point at which a meltdown could have unleashed vast amounts of radioactivity on an area of more than a million people. Tens of thousands died.

Now the control room crew watches over a panel and what is essentially inert rubble on the floor of the reactor vessel. The pile is the debris of fuel rods that generated the unit's uncontrolled heat four years ago.

The pile is kept inert by a bath of boron dissolved in water. The solution prevents bombardment of the unspent fuel by neutrons that, unchecked, could set off chain reactions and a new buildup of heat inside the reactor.

The pile remains the principal unsolved technological problem, according to Robert C. Arnold, president of the General Public Utilities, the division that runs the

parent company's nuclear plants. As a billion-dollar cleanup proceeds, Mr. Arnold said, the division's experts must find a way to remove and contain the radioactive debris.

Besides the technical tasks, he said, "the toughest job is maintaining and improving the credibility of the company."

Part of that job is pursued by the workers. About 750 are engaged in the cleanup. The rest are engaged in repairs and modifications aimed at restarting the No. 1 Unit, a twin of the damaged reactor, which has been idle since the accident. No. 1 had been shut down for routine maintenance at the time. Though undamaged, it was kept idle under orders of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

An indefinite delay in restarting it has been imposed by the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, which has held that a survey must first be conducted to take into account the possible stress that might result among area residents. That ruling has been appealed to the Supreme Court.

Chinese Defector Makes TV Plea

United Press International

NEW YORK — Hu Na, the Chinese tennis star who for eight months has been asking for political asylum in the United States, took her plea to the American people in her first national television appearance.

In an interview on a television news program Monday, she said she decided to defect because she was asked to join the Chinese Communist Party and feared getting involved in party faction battles.

"I felt that for my personal security I would want to stay in the United States," said Miss Hu, 19, speaking from San Francisco through an interpreter.

U.S. Court to Decide Disputed Labor Right

By Linda Greenhouse
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court has agreed to decide whether U.S. labor law protects an employee against dismissal for asserting a right provided for in a labor contract. The question has been the subject of a long-running dispute between the National Labor Relations Board and several U.S. appeals courts.

The labor board holds that an employee who invokes a contractual right, such as a guarantee of safe working conditions, is engaging in "protected" activity under the National Labor Relations Act. Section 7 of the act gives workers the right to organize and join unions and to engage in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining.

In the labor board's view, an employee who asserts a contractual right is protected under that section against reprisal even if the employee is acting alone and not technically in "concert" with other workers.

The board ordered the reinstatement of a Detroit truck driver who was dismissed after he refused to drive a truck with defective brakes. The driver was covered by a contract between the Teamsters union and the employer, City Disposal Systems, Inc., that provided that the employer "shall not require employees to take out on the streets or highways any vehicle that is not in safe operating condition."

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the 6th Circuit refused to enforce the board's reinstatement order.

however. The court said that the driver's refusal to drive the truck was not "concerted" action because he acted on his own.

In its Supreme Court appeal, NLRB vs. City Disposal Systems, the labor board said that the appeals court had adopted an "unduly literal" and "wooden" interpretation of the statute's use of the word "concerted."

"The board has long held," its brief said, "that an individual's assertion of a right embodied in a collective bargaining agreement is concerted activity within the meaning of Section 7, because the indi-

vidual's efforts affect the right of all employees in the unit." The employer, in its brief, said the court of appeals was correct and that "it strains the language and historical

construction of Section 7 to suggest that an individual employee's flatly refusing to perform assigned work and going home, without more, constitutes concerted activity."

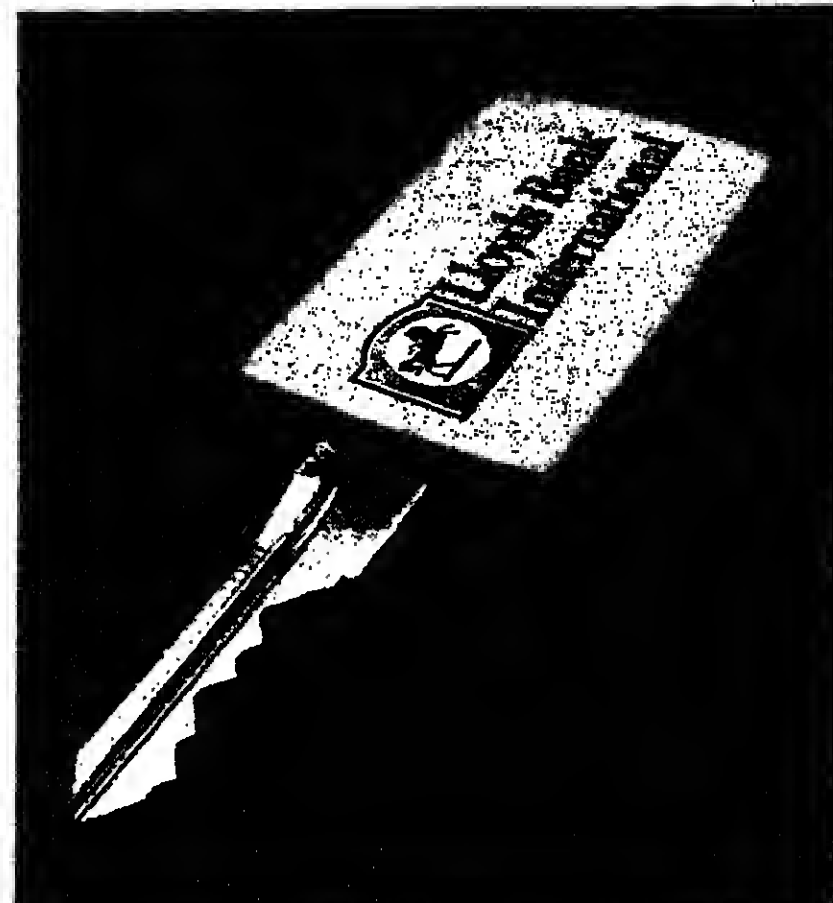
Ivory Coast Fires Set Back Farming

Reuters

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast — Fires have destroyed 250,000 hectares (617,500 acres) of cocoa and coffee plantations, equivalent to about 60 percent of the Ivory Coast's agricultural production, the forestry minister, Christian Zagoté, said in a speech published Tuesday.

Mr. Zagoté, in a speech given last weekend in the northern city of Korofo, also said 400,000 hectares of forest had been destroyed. Timber accounts for 15 percent of the Ivory Coast's export revenue. The country is the world's leading cocoa producer and the third producer of coffee after Brazil and Colombia.

Mr. Zagoté said the fires were caused by a drought and a dry seasonal wind from the Sahara.



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Farm-Wars Scenarios

If sufficiently mishandled, the farmers' trade war between the United States and the European Community can do real damage to both. A competition in subsidies would cost a great deal of money at a highly inconvenient time. Beyond that, unfortunately, trade quarrels have a way of generating a kind of bad temper that spills over into larger concerns like, for example, engineering an international economic recovery.

This time the United States is right. The Common Market is mismanaging its farm policy in a way that badly disrupts other countries' markets. The issue is once again export subsidies to get rid of those huge and embarrassing agricultural surpluses. If the Europeans were dealing with an unexpected and temporary fluctuation of output, American protests would be less vehement. But the impression is that the Europeans regard their subsidized exports as an acceptable long-term solution to a steadily worsening imbalance.

The international trade rules say that it is all right to expand your share of the world market. They also say that it is all right to subsidize your exports. But you go on to say that you must not do both. You are not permitted to use subsidies to take a larger share of the market, at the expense of other countries' exports. That is what the Common Market has been doing, but the rules are not being en-

forced. The United States, like every other government, subsidizes its farmers in many ways. But, over the past decade, it has not generally subsidized its exports. The recent sale of subsidized American wheat flour to Egypt was a deliberate warning to the Common Market of what may lie ahead if a sensible compromise cannot be arranged.

In both Western Europe and the United States, the extraordinary technology of modern agriculture is producing more than farmers can sell. In the United States, the Agriculture Department is again paying farmers to take land out of production. In Europe, the politics of overproduction is much more delicate. The Common Market is built on a series of understandings between France and West Germany; the larger market was supposed to benefit German industry in particular, and the compensation for it was to be high price supports for European — i.e., French — agriculture. The thing has now gotten out of hand, but in the politics of the Common Market it is always easier to keep paying the farmers to produce, and then pay again to dispose of the stuff somewhere else.

It is hard to believe that human imagination cannot find a solution that serves even European interests less badly than a future of perpetually widening subsidy disputes.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

A Convenient Culprit?

President Ronald Reagan said recently that he had not yet thought about whether to reappoint or replace Paul Volcker when his term as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board expires in August. This is probably the most important appointive decision Mr. Reagan still faces in his term. It is time to think about it, and here is how:

The Fed's chairman has enormous authority over America's economy and currency, and thus over world economic conditions. His office manages the nation's money supply, largely by buying and selling government securities and by regulating bank reserves; it expands the money supply when the economy is slack and cuts it back when inflation threatens. Its monetary policies can be more flexible than Congress's slow legislation of tax and spending policies, and they can be above politics, since board members are not elected.

Indeed, the United States' central bank is nominally independent of the administration of the day. But it has to adjust to a president's strategies and usually does.

Most recent chairmen of the Fed have been skillful leaders of the board and effective diplomats in coaxing action out of the Bank of England or the West German Bundesbank — to bail out Mexico by sundown, for example.

Presidents, understandably, worry about the compatibility of a Fed chairman, usually inherited from another administration. They wonder if he can be counted on to wield his exceptional power in politically desirable ways. But it is more important that they first

ask whether he can be trusted professionally. Mr. Volcker has met these tests as well as any likely replacement, but Mr. Reagan may nonetheless see profit in making a change. In the public's eye, Mr. Volcker has been uniquely responsible for the high interest rates that prolonged the recession. Although the administration explicitly endorsed his policies, and contributed at least as much to keeping interest rates high, it may be tempted to make him the scapegoat and claim for itself his success in driving down inflation.

With hindsight, it is clear that the Fed did pursue its restrictive course too long and too hard, but it has now reversed course. If interest rates hang high and choke the recovery, the basic fault will be the reckless budget deficits projected by the administration. But Mr. Volcker would be a convenient culprit, all the more so because some Reagan people do not like hearing how smart he has been in saving the country from even worse consequences.

Mr. Volcker has acquired a stature and experience that justify reappointment. But if he is to be replaced, the decision ought to be made well before August and before the shape of the 1984 election-year economy is known; anything that looks like a political invasion of the Fed could alarm financial markets.

And any replacement will need to be a person with impressive credentials, neither a strict, tight-money monetarist nor a loose inflationist. The president will have to move with care, so it is time to get moving.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Opinion

On Grain and Hunger

The good news from the prairies this year is that one-third of American crop land is to be taken out of production. There is no market for the grain. Food for the silos, however, is not fodder for the anti-American lobby in Britain or elsewhere. The capitalist system happens to be very good at producing food. Among developed countries it is the communist ones which go short.

In the areas of the world where starvation looms it is usually regimes which get in the way of assistance, by bureaucracy, complacency, or simply fighting civil wars. There is no effective machinery for transferring the 140 million tons of grain in American silos into the stomachs of the starving, and although some of the blame for that must lie in a donor's failure of imagination, as much lies in the torpor or corruption of regimes which are not responsible to their people.

— The Guardian (London).

An Asian Voice on Arms

ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] foreign ministers meeting here last week came up with an important suggestion that has not received the attention it deserves. They wanted China to participate in the talks in Geneva between the United States and the Soviet Union about the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons in Europe.

The predictable situation is that Moscow will agree to remove some of the SS-20 missiles from Eastern Europe — nobody yet knows how many. But they have to put them somewhere because millions of rubles are involved in their production. If they are taken

away from Eastern Europe, most experts agree, their logical re-location will be in Siberia, threatening China and Japan.

It is this irrefutable logic that has made the ASEAN foreign ministers come up with the sensible suggestion that China should take part in it. It is fine if the two superpowers get together and decide the future of the balance of power in Europe, but if Asia is involved through the excessive number of SS-20 missiles in Siberia there should be an Asian voice in the talks.

Japan is economically the most powerful nation in Asia, but she has no military muscle and has shied away from military talks. China comes to the forefront because she has an arsenal of nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them.

— The Nation Review (Bangkok).

With Strings Attached

If more U.S. military aid must go into El Salvador, it is better that it be sent with strings attached. That is why the efforts by several congressional committees to impose conditions on the extra money that President Ronald Reagan wants to send the Salvadorans were necessary and important.

Congress must keep pressure on the Salvadorans to improve their human-rights situation; there are no signs that pressure from the administration alone makes much difference. Of the several conditions attached to the administration's aid request, the most important is the requirement that the administration take the initiative to bring about unconditional discussions between the Salvadoran government and the rebels fighting in overthrow it.

— The Los Angeles Times.

FROM OUR MARCH 30 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1908: First Drive to Jerusalem

JERUSALEM — Mr. and Mrs. Charles Glidden — another record in the course of their world's automobile tour by being the first persons to drive an automobile into Jerusalem, have since been touring the Holy Land. Permission to drive the automobile in the country had first to be obtained from the sultan. They have driven nearly 500 miles, and their itinerary includes Haifa, Jaffa, Bethlehem, Hebron, Jericho, Jordan, the Dead Sea and the Mount of Olives. Mr. Glidden describes the roads as stony and muddy with gradients up to 20 percent. Mr. Glidden had, up to March 19, covered 43,367 miles, visited 37 countries and been on the road 350 days.

1933: A U.S. Jobs Bill Passes

WASHINGTON — Following President Franklin D. Roosevelt's executive order reducing the salary of all civilian employees of the government by 15 percent until the end of the present fiscal year, June 30, the House today passed the emergency employment bill for re-creating a reforestation army of 250,000 from the nation's jobless. Passage came after an amendment, offered by Oscar de Priest, a Negro Republican congressman of Chicago, stipulating that none shall be barred because of race, color, creed or criminal records, was accepted, by a 179-71 vote. The pay-cut order followed the finding that the cost of living had dropped 28 percent since 1928.

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Spotting the Leaks in Reagan's Nuclear Umbrella

By Robert E. Hunter

WASHINGTON — In his recent address, President Ronald Reagan put his finger on the central dilemma of the nuclear age: "I have become more and more deeply convinced," he said, "that the human spirit must be capable of rising above dealing with other nations and human beings by threatening their existence." Yet his solution, the development of advanced weapons to shoot down Soviet warheads hurtling toward the United States and its allies, fails to meet his own test.

Bad nuclear doctrine, like a bad penny, has a habit of coming back. What the president has proposed is little more than an extension of proposals made way back in the 1960s to build anti-ballistic missiles to protect American cities and Minuteman missiles from Soviet attack. After prolonged debate, it was recognized that this idea would cause more problems than it would solve, and it was scrapped. The Russians apparently reached the same conclusion, and the result was the ABM Treaty of 1972, the most successful arms-control agreement ever concluded, which severely limits deployment of such weapons. In fact, the United States later dismantled its one ABM system, built around missile silos in North Dakota, and the Russians deployed only one set of ABMs, providing a scant fig-leaf of protection for Moscow.

Technology has moved on, however, and the president now wants to have another go at an effective ABM system, presumably to be composed of lasers and particle-beam weapons based high in the stratosphere or in orbit around Earth. To be sure, if an ABM system really could knock out most Soviet weapons directed at U.S. missile silos, a new era of our land-based nuclear force would be expected to survive.

Cities, however, cannot be defended adequately against nuclear attack. Even a defense system that is 99-percent effective could still let through millions of tons of explosive power. Hitting U.S. cities would not be difficult, especially those along the coasts. Thus, unpalatable as it is, deterring the Soviets' attack on American cities by threatening to destroy theirs will have to remain a part of U.S. nuclear doctrine.

There is a further problem, too

identified years ago, of trying to protect missiles with an ABM. The Russians will not be able to tell whether it is also intended to protect cities — however improbable — and thus is an attempt to shift the nuclear balance. The resulting instability could prompt the Russians in a crisis to use their weapons before a U.S. ABM system is completed. Or Moscow might simply ape U.S. efforts — not, however, leading to mutual reassurances of safety, but to competing fears about attempts

to gain lopsided advantages in defending cities.

The president's proposal should be seen not as a serious way to end fears of nuclear war, but rather as an effort to undercut the movement to freeze nuclear developments on both sides, by holding out the chimera of an alternative to deterrence to Americans who fear the prospects of nuclear war.

Even if the proposal does not proceed beyond continued research and development, it can have serious im-

plications for relations with Western Europe. The president asserted that the new ABM system would protect those countries, too. But a cursory look at the map reveals that weapons that could destroy high-flying warheads would not stop those that the Russians can launch against Western Europe by a host of other means. And proposing to defend the United States while Europe must remain almost totally vulnerable is no way to inspire confidence in American reliability.

There is, of course, a better answer — not to eliminate nuclear weapons, as such, since there is no way to unambiguously disarm, but to halt the current arms race. Agreements on arms control and reductions should be pursued vigorously.

The writer, director of European studies at the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, served on the staff of the National Security Council in the Carter administration. He contributed this column to the Los Angeles Times.

A Long Way From Roosevelt's Lonely Decision

By McGeorge Bundy

WASHINGTON — In an astonishing passage tucked on to an otherwise routine effort to sell his defense budget, President Ronald Reagan has called on American scientists to join in a mighty effort to develop an effective defense against nuclear missiles.

He noted that it was the scientists who gave us the nuclear bomb in the first place. This reminder invites a look at the way an earlier president made the decision then to join that effort.

Roosevelt's basic decision that the country should get a bomb if it could was made Oct. 9, 1941 (not in 1939 when Einstein wrote his famous letter; the net effect of that letter was probably to slow things up). The decision was made in immediate response to a firm and clear recommendation from Vannevar Bush, a scientific administrator of the first order. Mr. Bush's recommendation was the product of a review process that he had shared with James B. Conant.

They were moved primarily by the extraordinary Maud Report compiled by scientists in Britain who had concluded that a wartime bomb was indeed possible. The Maud Report in turn was the product of a year-long review triggered by a brilliant secret memorandum of early 1940 in which the refugee scientists Frisch and Peierls had been the first to report the probability that very small amounts of separated U-235 — the more readily explosive isotopes of uranium — could make a very big bang.

Roosevelt's decision, which led not to a speech but to action, was

the product of extraordinary discoveries by extraordinary men of science, and careful review by men in two countries whose capacity for judging scientific questions had been professionally tested. The



lonely and enormous decision was indeed made by the president, but he did not call on the scientists for action until what they had learned led them to call on him.

Compare this process of decision in Mr. Reagan's case. Does his proposal rest on new scientific insights? His advisers have told the press it does not, and scientists of the first rank confirm the absence of any new ideas remotely comparable to that of Mr. Frisch and Mr. Peierls. Was the decision the product of any analysis and review even distantly resembling the work of the Maud Committee or the examination by Mr. Bush and Mr. Conant? Clearly not. It appears to be a quick-trigger personal response to the frustration of military advisers, some of whom do indeed devoutly wish they had a good way to defend the increasingly implausible MX missile.

Was there any serious consultation with experts and leaders in the scientific community? Apparently not. Mr. Reagan wanted a new-making speech more than he wanted a good decision, so consultation was tightly limited both in scope and in content. The first major gathering of eminent scientists took place only after the speech had been handed out to the press. It was not a meeting in which serious advice could be sought or offered; its formal proceedings lasted only 45 minutes. The decision-making processes of the two presidents could hardly be more different.

The realities of the two decisions are just as far apart. Roosevelt's de-

cision led to rapid and awesome results. President Reagan's will not.

Mr. Reagan himself, warned by his advisers, has made it clear that serious results may not be achievable in this century, and he has explicitly affirmed his continuing allegiance to the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty, which forbids the very action which he is now taking. The immediate result of the speech is minimal: an instruction to the Joint Chiefs to see if they can find better ways to do what they are doing already. Research work on defense against missiles is a prudent form of reconnaissance that is permitted under the ABM Treaty. Like most human activities, it probably can be done better than it now is, quite possibly for less money.

Everyone who has ever worked in the White House knows how the desire to pump up a speech can get in the way of sober second thought. But it is important in such cases for the rest of us not to mistake that impulse for serious and substantial change in policy. If our leading men of science could in fact see a good way to put the defense truly ahead of the offense in strategic weapons, we would indeed have a great reason to make. But they don't, and we don't. Let the research effort continue; let the Defense and Energy Departments improve it if they can, and let us all relax a bit.

The writer, a professor of history at New York University, was a special assistant for national security affairs in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. He contributed this article to The Washington Post.

From America, a 'Told-You-So' on the Pipeline

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — A white elephant is stalking Europe — the specter of one of the costliest economic blunders ever made by a serenely smug group.

Remember the brouhaha about the Soviet gas pipeline to Western Europe? The Reagan men tried to persuade West Germany and France not to contract to buy huge amounts of natural gas from the Soviet Union, or to finance the construction of a Soviet-owned pipeline to Siberia.

When European leaders — greedy for sales of pipeline equipment, and blind to consequences — told Mr. Reagan to peddle his papers, the American president responded by forbidding the use of U.S. technology in that pipeline. The Atlantic allies rose up in fury.

Never mind that the biggest energy deal between East and West guaranteed the Russians the hard currency to buy technology for their war machine. The allies, wrongly equating U.S. grain sales (which cost the Russians hard currency) with their gas purchases (which made the Russians money), defied Mr. Reagan.

Conventional wisdom now holds that the United States needlessly

caused a rift in the alliance by resisting the transfer of equipment made under U.S. licenses. When the new secretary of state, George P. Shultz, arranged to lift the sanctions, he was hailed by Eurocrats and Europhiles for his responsibility and good sense. But take a new look at that deal in the light of sinking oil prices. Back in 1981, when Ostpolitik was in fashion, gas was selling for \$4.70 per million British thermal units. The Europeans, confident that energy costs would rise, contracted to buy gas for delivery in 1984 at \$5.40.

But the cost of gas is closely linked to the price of oil. As the price of crude has eroded, the price of Algerian gas to Europe has come down by nearly a dollar per million Btu's. Industry analysts say that when oil dips below \$25 a barrel, natural gas in Europe should be selling for well under \$4. That means the Europeans are stuck with paying \$5.40 for gas that anybody can buy for less than \$4.

If oil drops to \$20 a barrel — which the United States should encourage with an oil import fee — natural gas prices would plummet to \$3.

Nobody in Europe wants to pay nearly twice the going rate for gas just because some leaders in 1981 were babes in the wood.

Let us assume that the secret contract contains some escape clause on price, beyond the ability to take slightly less gas. If the Russians agree to renegotiate the deal in return for some European trade or even defense concessions, that would merely transfer the problem from the European consumer to the European taxpayer.

Repayment of the loans from Western banks to construct the Siberian pipeline is largely geared to the guaranteed \$5.40 price. If the Russians listen to pleas to lower prices to meet competition, pipeline income would plummet by a quarter-billion to a half-billion dollars a year.

Of course, that would mean that the loans to the banks could not be repaid on anywhere near the planned schedule. The governments of West Germany and France would then have to bail out their banks on an unprecedented scale — all to finance a pipeline owned by the Russians.

Sipping the Sour Cocktail of Iberian Relations

By Victor de la Serna

SINTRA, Portugal — Relations between the two Iberian neighbors recently have hit one of their frequent low points, characterized again by heavy mutual ignorance and emotional reproaches. With Spain seeking Portugal moving closer to membership in the European Community, one wonders whether confrontation can ever become a thing of the past.

Old history and recent economic troubles combine in the sour cocktail of Iberian relations.

Now that the colonial empire has been lost, some outside observers say the ultimate goal that holds the Portuguese together — and as a separate political entity — is their firm desire not to be Spanish. The colonies used to fuel the sense of national purpose of this small, isolated country. Without them, it is back to resisting the supposedly aggressive stance of the big Spanish neighbor.

It has been like this for six centuries. In the 14th century, the bellicose Castilians, in their protracted but successful effort to drive the Moors out of the Iberian peninsula, also subdued other ethnic groups. The Castilians' victorious march suffered what probably was viewed then as a minor setback when they lost a small battle on the dusty Portuguese plain of Aljubarrota, in 1385. But it turned out to be an historic event — the battle cemented the independence of Portugal, the only kingdom on the peninsula able to resist the Castilian advance.

To this day, Aljubarrota remains a powerful symbol in Portugal, one that politicians can invoke when the going gets tough. With the recession severely hitting the peninsula, and Portugal suffering comparatively more than Spain, it is chastise-neighbor time again.

The fishing-trip agreement between the two countries has not been renewed. A future Spanish fisherman was recently shot by a Portuguese Coast Guard sailor in the Guadiana estuary.

Portuguese media tend to blame Spain or the Spaniards for most ills,

from the drought to nuclear-waste pollution. The word "Espanha," is constantly splashed on front pages, in bold, accusatory headlines.

Looking for a scapegoat in a richer, more powerful and arguably greedy neighbor seems to be a common trait of Spain and Portugal.

These countries with glorious but long-disappeared past seem full of complexes in their dealings with other nations. They resent their long isolation. The constant postponement of their admission into the European Community increases their exasperation.

Aside from the problem of fishing rights — a difficult one, since Portugal has the fish and Spain has the

market, but both are unwilling to compromise on who will catch the fish — the current tension is reflected in a bitter trade war.

Complaining that Spain's import tariffs were too high — indeed, they often hover around 40 percent — the Portuguese have retaliated since last summer with a barrier of their own. The trade authorities in Lisbon are simply denying requests for licenses to import goods from Spain.

This is costly. Many imports now come from more distant countries, and are often 20 or 30 percent more expensive than similar goods from Spain. A Lisbon public works contractor who used to import piping-hot, ready-to-use asphalt in trucks

from Spain now has to have it shipped from other European countries and pays \$100 more per ton.

Portugal is eager to reduce its large trade deficit with Spain. In 1982, imports from Spain were estimated at \$460 million, while exports to the neighboring country only reached \$110 million.

"If it weren't for the denial of import licenses for Spanish goods, there's no telling how much that trade gap might increase," said a Spanish diplomat in Lisbon.

A reduction in Spanish tariffs and an easing of Portuguese non-tariff barriers might pave the way to better trade relations. But a commonsense solution will not necessarily come easily. Distrust runs too deep.

International Herald Tribune.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Stuff and Outrage

Regarding "Not a Revolution but a Glacier in Motion" (IHT, March 11):

Wasn't that a ridiculous article? I had to read it twice to be sure what Anderson was trying to suggest: That there is something "intellectual" (he used the word six times) about President Reagan's actions in turning over vast sections of the U.S. government to the rich who paid his campaign bills, by appointing their hired lackies to high public office.

One need only try to imagine Mark Hanna, after installing McKinley in the White House, or the Ohio Gang, after installing Harding, all rigged out in cap and gown, cigars at a jaunty angle, humming "Gau-

deamus Igitur" all the way to the bank.

Doubtless then as now such men have been aware of the copious supply and occasional usefulness of educated fools. But they themselves were and are realists who knew exactly what they wanted, were content with the normal limits of greed when they got it, and saw no point in pretensions of intellectuality.

So the question is: What is Anderson's nonsense about? Are there further outrages in store to which he hopes to fit some sort of respectable clothing? Even the poor are beginning to understand what has been happening to them and who has been doing it to them.

HOWARD MORGAN,

Alhambra, Spain.

Theological Bases

Regarding "Carter Urges Justice in MidEast" (IHT, March 12-13):

I never cease to be amazed that former President Jimmy Carter and others of his religious persuasion find justification for their belief that "God has ordered and ordained the

existence of the state of Israel as a permanent homeland of the Jews."

For a thinking Christian to believe this is absolute nonsense. When the Jews refused to accept Jesus Christ as their long-awaited Messiah they abdicated, according to traditional Christian teaching, their claim to be any longer God's chosen people and with it the inheritance of Palestine.

As a practicing Christian (Anglican) I find it ludicrous to even consider that my religion demands that the Holy Land be occupied by the descendants of those who rejected Christ's mission.

ROBERT B. BETTS,

Cairo.

No Solutions

As a new subscriber, I have noted over the past several months the total negativism in your editorials toward the Reagan administration. Fair enough, but I do find it disappointing that it appears the writers of the editorials have only criticism and no solutions.

R.W. LIVINGSTON,

Singapore.

Universal Press Syndicate.

Sandinist Concern Over Guerrilla Raids Seems to Reflect Domestic Troubles

By Edward Cody
Washington Post Service

MANAGUA — When counterrevolutionary guerrillas passed through the village of May last week, residents stood by and cheered. A few days later, when Nicaraguan militiamen moved in, the same villagers came out to cheer.

"They must be the most neutral people in the world," said a Sandinist official relating what had happened in the hamlet in eastern Matagalpa province.

His story was meant to be humorous. But it went a long way to explain the recently intensified concern here over U.S.-backed anti-government forces that have been trying in earnest since last summer to overthrow the three-and-a-half-year-old Sandinist rule.

Over the last few weeks, organized counterrevolutionary bands have for the first time been able to establish a scattered military presence and mount sporadic raids in Matagalpa province, only 70 miles (113 kilometers) from Managua and nearly 100 miles from the Honduran border mountains where they have rear bases and supply sources.

Sandinist officials estimate the number of guerrillas inside the country at about 2,000, with at least several hundred in the Matagalpa

hills. The officials said the infiltrators had been surrounded and then crushed. The Matagalpa raid nevertheless marked the first time the counterrevolutionaries had been able to remain in any numbers away from the northern border region, where they can cross into havens in Honduras, or the isolated reaches of eastern Zelaya province, where a restive Miskitu Indian population provides a friendly environment.

What this means, according to Sandinist officials and foreign diplomats, is that the guerrillas enjoy at least tolerance, if not support, from some farmers and villagers in the region.

For a government that came to power on a wave of popular enthusiasm for its own uprising against the late Anastasio Somoza, the realization amounts to a troubling blow.

It also comes at a time when relations seem to be hardening between the Sandinist leadership and its opponents in private business and the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

As a result, there is speculation among some Sandinist officials that the revolutionary leadership could soon be pressured into harder line political controls that would further taint its declared policy of pluralism.

Pope John Paul II's visit to Nicaragua at the

beginning of the month, marked by what amounted to revolutionary cheerleading by Nicaragua's top officials during the papal Mass, helped crystallize and sharpen the antagonism.

A lay Catholic activist, a strong Sandinist opponent, called the performance "disgraceful." He said the outcome would be to reinforce the authority of Archbishop Miguel Obando Bravo in his struggle against Nicaraguan priests and religious who have embraced the Sandinist revolution, sometimes bypassing church teachings on Marxism.

Government relations with upper level private business were in effect "frozen" even before the papal visit, business leaders say.

A measure of the contacts with the political opposition, which also embraces the business opposition, came Friday with a meeting between Interior Minister Tomás Borge Martínez and Luis Leiva Rivas, head of the political and business opposition umbrella coordinating committee.

Mr. Leiva refused to respond to a summons from the governing junta, which Sandinist officials said was issued in an effort to brief the opposition on the situation created by the recent counterrevolutionary attacks. Mr. Leiva argued he was leaving on vacation to Costa Rica

and the committee would choose someone to replace him for the meeting.

However, he was refused permission to board his flight, his passport was confiscated, and he was told to report to the Sandinist security headquarters to discuss his case, he told friends. Later he was taken to see Mr. Borge, who criticized him for refusing the junta's efforts to keep the opposition informed, these friends said.

It is difficult for an outsider to judge how deep into the population such antagonisms reach, despite frequent griping about economic hardships and shortages in Managua. More than half the country's 2.7 million residents are under 15, and youthful enthusiasm for the Sandinist revolution appears to a visitor to remain high.

In addition, even among the government's strongest critics in Nicaragua, the idea of a return to Somoza-style rule promoted by former officers from the dictator's hated National Guard finds no support. With that in mind, the Sandinist leadership consistently portrays the counterrevolutionaries as National Guardsmen seeking to return to power with U.S. help.

The Sandinist leadership thus has been particularly incensed at what it says is an attempt by the Reagan administration in recent days to create a false impression in Nicaragua and

abroad of an internal insurrection against the revolutionary government rather than the U.S.-backed attacks from Honduran soil that Managua says are occurring.

The main anti-government exile force, the Nicaraguan Democratic Front, seen here as a lever for U.S. policy against Nicaragua, has long claimed support from dissatisfied Nicaraguans within the country. Now, the officials note, State Department spokesmen and the U.S. delegate to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, have emphasized the same theme in comments on the latest clashes.

With that in mind, Sandinist officials have warned against possible new counterrevolutionary attacks in the south, near the border with Costa Rica, and the northeast, where groups of Miskito refugees have been organized into anti-government units along the border with Honduras.

The worries do not seem to be military for the most part. The guerrillas reported to be operating inside Nicaragua pose little serious challenge to the Sandinistas' 22,000-man conventional army, backed by more than 100,000 trained militia reserves and tens of thousands more volunteer militiamen.

And despite several warnings that Honduras risks war by allowing the anti-government Ni-

caraguans to use its territory, Sandinist officials and foreign diplomats say such a conflict is unlikely unless one side makes a severe miscalculation.

The anti-government raids raised other fears, however, because they fit into what is seen here as systematic persecution by the United States designed to frustrate the Sandinist revolution. Few Sandinist officials get very far in a conversation without recalling a history of U.S. support for Mr. Somoza. Since then, they say, the Reagan administration has allocated \$19 million to finance an anti-Sandinist subversion campaign widely reported in the U.S. press.

Against that background, each counterrevolutionary attack, even if minor in military terms, fits into what is defined here as a pattern of harassment that has the weight of the U.S. government behind it. As a result, the Sandinist leaders react with charges of "invasion" that, viewed from the outside, may seem out of proportion to the small-scale raids actually being carried out.

A Sandinist official, recognizing this, nevertheless expressed fear that U.S. emphasis on internal unrest could be a source of "war hysteria" in Nicaragua, leading the government to "measures that a lot of people will not like."

U.S. Naval Officers Report a Buildup of Cuban Military Power

By Drew Middleton
New York Times Service

ROOSEVELT ROADS, Puerto Rico — U.S. naval officers say they are concerned by what they view as a steady expansion of Cuba's conventional military power in the last two years, with the Soviet Union as its arms supplier and paymaster.



Unison Whiteman

Grenada Claims U.S. Plans Attack

New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — Grenada has joined Nicaragua in charging that it was the target of "an imminent attack" by the United States. An official of the island nation's leftist government said that it was convinced an attack "could come in a matter of days."

The charge was made Monday at a news conference here by Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman, who said that he had evidence of a Washington plot. Asked for details, Mr. Whiteman said, "You'd have to ask the CIA for the evidence."

He did say that Nicaraguan and Cuban exiles had met in an undisclosed location near his tiny island and that mercenaries were being trained in Miami. But diplomatic considerations, Mr. Whiteman said, prevented him from disclosing more information.

He said Washington was creating a "climate of hysteria so public opinion would support an invasion." He cited President Ronald Reagan's assertion in a speech last week that Cubans were building a Soviet-financed airfield on the island with a 10,000-foot (3,000-meter) runway, an event that the president said reflected "Soviet-Cuban militarization of Grenada."

The foreign minister observed that U.S. and West European companies were also helping to build the airport, a project he said was "for the advancement of tourism and the building of our economy."

In Washington on Monday, a State Department spokesman, Alan Romberg, termed the allegation made by Grenada as "ridiculous."

Disappearances Cited in Jakarta

Reuters

JAKARTA — Indonesia's leading human rights organization has publicly expressed concern for the first time over what it said were disappearances of political figures.

The privately-funded Indonesian Legal Aid Institute said in a 220-page report published this week that it was "deeply concerned at political disappearances which may lead to political murders." It added: "It is as if we are being faced with a new kind of punishment."

The institute said it began noticing reports of disappearances of political figures after the hijacking by Moslem extremists of an Indonesian airliner to Bangkok in March 1981. The report accused the government of secretly arresting 400 Moslem leaders in Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi and the Malaysian Islands.

The expansion of Cuba's amphibious fleet is regarded as especially significant because of the instability in Central America, several officers said in a series of interviews here in Norfolk, Virginia, the headquarters of the 2d Fleet, which has responsibility for Cuba and the Caribbean.

The officers said information on the expansion of Cuba's military strength was made clear by photographic and other intelligence evidence.

The evidence was said to show that early this year Cuba completed the building of 190 concrete, bombproof shelters for its fleet of about 225 Soviet-built MiG fighter-bombers.

It was also learned that the Russians will soon transfer four more Foxot submarines to Cuba, bringing the total to six. These diesel-powered patrol vessels carry up to 20 torpedoes and could endanger sea lanes in the Caribbean, the officers said.

Two of six Soviet Bear long-range turboprop planes that have operated from Cuba during a recent U.S. naval exercise northeast of Puerto Rico have been equipped for anti-submarine warfare with torpedoes and advanced submarine detection devices.

The Soviet intelligence center at Lourdes, Cuba, is the largest such non-U.S. installation in the Western Hemisphere and monitors signals in the eastern United States. In a war, it could jam U.S. civilian and military communications, the officers said.

In addition, the Cuban Navy recently completed the conversion of a large trawler into an intelligence-gathering ship, the Balzan, which, like Soviet ships of the same class, shadows U.S. naval activities in the Caribbean.

The Soviet Union and Cuba are engaged in a five-year program, which began in 1980 and is the second of its kind, to strengthen Cuban armed forces. The tonnage of military supplies transferred to Cuba in 1981 and 1982 was about 68,000 metric tons, or double the tonnage from 1976 to 1980.

The Soviet Union, in addition, finances Cuba's military establishment and internal security apparatus at a cost estimated at more than \$500 million a year.

The Cuban military structure is already formidable by Central American standards. Counting fixed-wing combat aircraft and combat helicopters, Cuba deploys 555 planes.

These improvements in Cuba's military capacity have been accompanied by an increase in the frequency of Soviet naval and air deployments in the region. Six Bear aircraft followed the first stages of the naval exercise of the U.S. 2d Fleet and British and Dutch units.

Intelligence experts anticipate further transfers of Soviet surface ships to Cuba.

Amphibious ships acquired from Russia were characterized by U.S. officials as "ideal" for landing operations in Central America.

The Cuban role was emphasized in a speech Wednesday night by President Ronald Reagan in which he stressed the strategic importance of the Caribbean region to the United States. These developments are already influencing U.S. military planning. Navy deployments in the Caribbean, for example, have increased in size and frequency.

Such deployments, senior officers said, are possible in peace. But in a war, they said, the national military leadership would face a difficult choice.

"Could we proceed to reinforce Europe with all the top officials, his message was apparently the same, that the new Socialist government should get off the fence and press ahead with membership in NATO, preferably on a full-scale basis. As things stand now, Spain is half-in, half-out. The centrist government joined last June, but the Socialists stopped integration into the military structure pending a promised public referendum on the issue.

There were several secondary themes. Mr. Weinberger spoke of the threat of Soviet military power in stark, confrontational language rarely heard in Madrid. He depicted NATO membership as "a natural outgrowth" of Spain's new democracy and as something that would enhance the nation's role in



Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, center, secretary-general of the United Nations, and Andrei A. Gromyko, the Soviet foreign minister, began a second day of talks Tuesday in Moscow.

UN Leader, After Andropov Talks, Is Encouraged on Afghanistan

By John Burns
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the secretary-general of the United Nations, said Tuesday that he had received "renewed encouragement" from Yuri V. Andropov, the Soviet leader, to pursue UN efforts to mediate an end to the war in Afghanistan.

At a news conference, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar said he was optimistic after two hours of talks with Mr. Andropov on Monday and a further three hours Tuesday with Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko. But he declined to say what aspect of the Soviet position gave him grounds for thinking that the UN negotiations might make progress.

"Rely on me. I have reasons for hope," he said.

The mediation bid, involving UN officials and representatives of Afghanistan and Pakistan, which many of the Afghan guerrillas use as a rear base, have made little progress previously. A major sticking point is said to have been the unwillingness of the Afghan and Soviet authorities to negotiate over the composition of a future government in Kabul to replace the Soviet-backed regime now in power.

Some insight into the position that the Soviet leaders took with

Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar was offered by the secretary-general's response when he was asked if he had reminded his hosts of resolutions in the UN General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops that have been fighting in Afghanistan since December 1979.

He replied: "One of the elements in the problem is the presence of Soviet troops in the area. But if you want me to tell you that Mr. Andropov will withdraw Soviet troops tomorrow, I think that you are not as naive as all that."

The secretary-general's visit here was made at the invitation of Mr. Andropov. While Soviet accounts of the meetings said that a range of international issues was discussed, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar said that the discussion on Afghanistan with Mr. Andropov had been lengthy.

Other matters covered included disarmament, including proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and the United States for limiting nuclear weapons, and the situation in the Middle East.

Diplomatic interest here focused on the Afghanisthan discussions.

Immediately after he succeeded Leonid I. Brezhnev as Communist Party leader in November, Mr. Andropov met with Pakistan's president, General Mohammed Zia ul-

Haq, and the Pakistani leader's remarks afterward led to speculation that Mr. Andropov might be preparing for a compromise settlement. Soviet officials with access to Mr. Andropov had said previously that in his earlier position as head of the KGB intelligence and security apparatus he had opposed the use of Soviet forces in Afghanistan.

Within a month, those hopes largely dissipated. Soviet pronouncements reaffirmed earlier pledges that Soviet forces would eventually be withdrawn, but these were coupled with a restatement of conditions amounting to a demand for international acceptance of the government in Kabul, installed in a Soviet-backed coup.

Rebel Roadblocks Reported
Moslem rebels have blocked roads into Afghanistan's second-largest city, Kandahar, in a spring offensive against Soviet and Afghan forces. Reuters quoted Western diplomats as saying Tuesday in Islamabad, Pakistan.

The diplomats said mole trains were being used to get food and other supplies to the city of 150,000 people as fighting in several parts of the country signaled the start of spring offensives by both sides.

Weinberger Sought to Sell Spain On NATO, but Madrid Is Cautious

By John Darnton
New York Times Service

MADRID — U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger used a 48-hour visit here last week to press the leaders of the Socialist government to resume Spain's full membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Before leaving Friday, the secretary was given an audience with King Juan Carlos I, rounding out a schedule that included talks with Prime Minister Felipe González, Defense Minister Narcis Serra and Foreign Minister Fernando Moran.

On Thursday night, in his only public appearance, Mr. Weinberger answered questions at a dinner given by an international affairs institute.

Mr. Weinberger was a forceful salesman for the idea that Spain should once and for all anchor itself in the "community" of Western industrial democracies by means of a multilateral military commitment.

Everywhere he went, and in his meetings with all the top officials, his message was apparently the same, that the new Socialist government should get off the fence and press ahead with membership in NATO, preferably on a full-scale basis.

As things stand now, Spain is half-in, half-out. The centrist government joined last June, but the Socialists stopped integration into the military structure pending a promised public referendum on the issue.

world affairs. And he argued that "full benefits come from full participation," an attempt to avoid the French route of staying inside the alliance but outside its military component.

Some of these notions reverberate strongly among Spaniards. The new and largely young moderate leftists who have come to power have a curiously strong nationalistic tinge to their thinking, which

helps to account for their so far successful hold over the rightist Spanish military.

They are, for the first time in 40 years, proud of their country. They want very much to be accepted on equal terms by the industrial democracies, and so they are apt to take offense at rejection, which is what adds such a bitter taste to the long delay in Spain's application to join the European Community.

As Europe, and especially France, seems to be turning its back on Spain, sentiment for a counter-rejection is building here. Perhaps, it is said, Spain should avoid the major power blocs and strive instead to carve out a leadership role in North Africa and Latin America. Much was made in the Spanish press over Madrid's attendance at the recent Third World meeting in New Delhi.

Only the United States seems to have perceived this. No other country has sent such high-level officials to visit — Secretary of State George P. Shultz came here in December — and the Spaniards find it both flattering and fitting to be courted by a major power. Washington, for its part, sees socialist governments linking the entire length of the Mediterranean, from Greece to Portugal (the Socialists

Warsaw Ghetto Rites Face Boycott

Survivor of 1943 Uprising Assails Polish Regime

By Dan Fisher
Los Angeles Times Service

WARSAW — More than 2,000 Nazi troops came for the last of the Warsaw Jews before dawn on April 19, 1943.

They entered the walled ghetto with tanks, machine guns, and other heavy weapons, expecting resistance from the condemned men and women inside — men and women who had nothing to lose.

About 360,000 of their neighbors in the ghetto had already been deported to Nazi death camps and the 40,000 still behind those ghetto walls knew that it was their turn.

Marek Edelman was one of them. Along with only 219 others, he had a gun. And those 220 Jewish insurgents, for what they did over the next three weeks, became famous worldwide as heroes of what became known as the Warsaw ghetto uprising.

The Polish authorities are planning an eight-day observance of the 40th anniversary of the ghetto uprising next month. From all accounts it will be the most elaborate celebration of the anniversary so far, and prominent Jews from all over the world have been invited.

The authorities also invited Mr. Edelman, who escaped through the sewers in 1943. He is the only survivor of the uprising living in Poland and one of only a handful anywhere. But he will not attend.

"Forty years ago we not only fought for our lives, but for life in dignity and freedom," he explained. "Observance of our anniversary here, where social life in its entirety is overshadowed by degradation and oppression, where words and gestures have been completely falsified, is betrayal of our struggle, is participation in something completely contradicting it. It is an act of cynicism and contempt."

Mr. Edelman's stance, which he has circulated as an open letter in the underground press and which he reiterated last week in an interview at his home in Lodz, is one example of how the anniversary is backfiring on the government politically.

The authorities had hoped that the observance would help them break out of the international isolation in which they found themselves after the December 1981

declaration of martial law, according to one well-placed party source. But, along with Mr. Edelman, a number of Jewish organizations overseas have called for a boycott of the commemoration, calling it a propaganda ploy.

A Communist Party source said it appears that only about 1,000 of the Jewish visitors invited from abroad will come for the anniversary instead of the 5,000 that the authorities once hoped for.

The plan to mark the 40th anniversary in such grand fashion — the program includes the reopening of Warsaw's only synagogue, which has been closed and under repair for two years — has been seen by some within the government as politically risky from the beginning.

A number of current Polish Communist Party officials had a hand in a 1968 anti-Semitic campaign that resulted in thousands of Polish Jews fleeing the country. Also, in the early days of martial law, there were occasional anti-Semitic attacks on some of the senior advisers to the now-banned Solidarity independent trade union.

A problem potentially even more explosive is Poland's close ties to a number of radical Arab nations.

There are hundreds of Arab students, businessmen, and other visitors in Warsaw almost constantly, raising security questions concerning the anniversary celebration.

Sources say that the Syrian and Libyan ambassadors here have visited the head of the anniversary

commemoration committee, and that Syria, Libya and Algeria have protested jointly to the Foreign Ministry about the event.

"A Jewish matter is always a matter of politics," commented Mr. Edelman, who is now a cardiologist in Lodz, a textile center about 90 miles (125 kilometers) southwest of Warsaw.

A delegate to the 1981 Solidarity congress, the 61-year-old ghetto survivor was interned on the day martial law was declared. He was released six days later, however, reportedly after high-level intervention in the case.

Adam Kwiatkowski, general secretary of the Socio-Cultural Society of Jews in Poland, has said that the ghetto uprising anniversary celebrations next month will allow all Polish Jews to "find a common language with representatives of all countries and organizations, and the memory of the murdered and the call for peace and security worldwide will unite us."

But Mr. Edelman sees it differently. "I shall not participate in this and I shall not accept the participation of others, wherever they may come from and whatever their credentials may be," he said in his open letter.

"Far from the manipulated celebrations, in the silence of graves and hearts, there will survive the true memory of the victims and heroes, of the eternal human striving for freedom and truth."

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INSIGHTS

The Arms Race in Space:
U.S., Russia Compete in
Nonnuclear Technology

By John Noble Wilford

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — After the United States and the Soviet Union ratified a treaty outlawing nuclear weapons in space in 1967, most of the world relaxed under the assumption that its newest frontier was not likely to become a battleground. But military planners and weapons technologists on both sides, never relaxing, quietly pursued visions of space wars fought with nonnuclear weapons.

They have designed and in some cases tested satellites to hunt and destroy other satellites. They have conducted extensive research aimed at developing space-based weapons with lasers and particle-beam systems — reality catching up with the deadly ray guns of science fiction.

Even though the feasibility of such nonnuclear weapons in the foreseeable future has yet to be proved, President Ronald Reagan called attention to them last week in a speech urging U.S. scientists "to turn their great talents" toward developing powerful weapons in space that could serve as a defense against nuclear missile attack.

He did not specify the weapons he had in mind, but White House aides acknowledged that they involved Earth-based and space-based lasers and particle-beam technologies.

Nor did Mr. Reagan call for any immediate crash program for their development and testing. Spending on such systems has already increased sharply, from \$200 million for laser work in 1980 to \$1 billion annually for laser and particle-beam projects. And this is only part of the escalating expenditures for space military operations in general.

In the next five years the Reagan administration plans to increase military space spending, now about \$8.5 billion a year, by more than 10 percent each year, a greater rate of increase than for the rest of the Defense Department budget.

Passive Military Use of Space

Almost from the beginning of the space age, in 1957 when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik 1, space has been a realm of considerable military activity, but of the passive kind. Both superpowers use satellites for such applications as early warning against nuclear attack, intelligence gathering, navigation, weather forecasting and long-range communications. More than 40 U.S. satellites now orbiting Earth are performing these functions.

Thirty seconds after a Soviet intercontinental ballistic missile lifts out of a silo, for example, U.S. satellites with infrared sensors should pick out its telltale heat trails. Data on the missile's speed and course are transmitted to communications satellites that relay the information instantaneously to computers and display terminals at an air force command center buried under Cheyenne Mountain near Colorado Springs, Colorado. Further tracking of the missile is also reported by satellite communications.

In addition, Vela satellites 60,000 miles (96,000 kilometers) out in space watch for any nuclear detonations. Several satellites with highly sensitive cameras are continuously transmitting photographs and other data which disclose military dispositions by friend and potential foe.

Satellite reconnaissance, it is generally agreed, has had a stabilizing effect on global politics because it has enabled each adversary to verify the other's conformance to the SALT-I treaty limiting strategic weapons. The satellites presumably minimize the chances of surprise and miscalculation.

In 1967, "The Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies," commonly referred to as the Outer Space Treaty, was signed by 107 nations, including all of the countries active in space.

The treaty, which was drafted by the United Nations Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, governs all activities in the exploration and use of outer space. One provision bans the stationing of "weapons of mass destruction" in orbit or on the moon.

One reason the Soviet Union and the United States were willing to agree to the treaty at that time is that they did not see any advantage to having nuclear weapons in space and had determined that orbiting nuclear bombs seemed much less practical than ballistic missiles.

Loophole in Space Treaty

The common definition of "weapons of mass destruction" refers to nuclear bombs or warheads. The research, development, and deployment of the kind of nonnuclear weapons now being discussed for placement in outer space would not appear to be restricted by the terms of the Outer Space Treaty.

While reaffirming a commitment to peaceful uses of space, Mr. Reagan said in a directive on space policy last July, "The United States will pursue activities in space in support of its right to self-defense."

What the administration had in mind was apparently outlined last year in a five-year plan, a secret document known as Defense Guidance. Space operations, the document said, "add a new dimension to our military capabilities." The document further ordered "the prototype development of space-based weapons systems so that we will be prepared to deploy fully developed and operationally ready systems should their use prove to be in our national interest."

This reflected a growing concern among U.S. military analysts over presumed Soviet advances in space weaponry. Since 1968, the Soviet Union has been testing a nonnuclear anti-satellite system, or ASAT, which it has used to intercept target satellites sent into space. Small satellites are sent into orbit to hunt a target satellite, hover near it and then explode, shattering the victim craft with a shower of shrapnel.

The U.S. Air Force has countered with an ASAT that is scheduled to undergo its first tests by late summer. By all accounts, it is expected to have greater capability and flexibility than the Soviet ASAT.

The U.S. anti-satellite weapon is a small homing missile, launched into space from a high-flying aircraft, that seeks out its target by infrared sensors and then explodes near it or collides with it at high speed. The Pentagon has directed that the first anti-satellite systems be ready for use by 1987.

The impending tests are a point of contention between arms-control advocates and the administration. Forty-five members of Congress recently sent a letter to Mr. Reagan calling on him to "refrain from testing this ASAT until we have tried in good faith to negotiate a ban on such weapons."

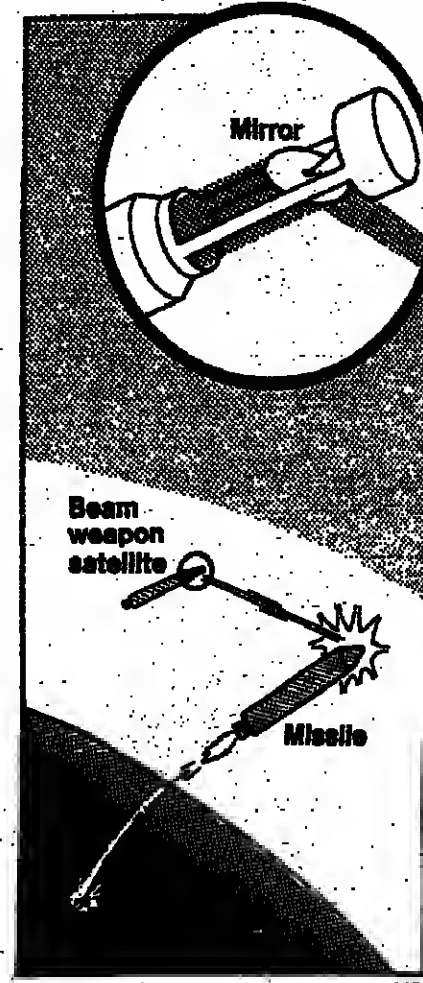
Dr. Richard Garwin, a physicist at the International Business Machines Corp. and a long-time government adviser on military matters, has said the Russians "show every sign of being willing to give up further testing of their ASATs" in return for a similar pledge by the United States.

Perhaps the most effective weapon against the current generation of satellites is in hand. It is an ordinary nuclear warhead that can be exploded in space. Such an explosion generates an electromagnetic pulse damaging or destroying unprotected electronics to satellites at great distances. The problem is that the pulse might wipe out a nation's own satellites as well as the enemy's.

But Mr. Reagan's "vision of the future," as expressed in his speech March 23, extended to technologies that are not yet in hand and, according to many scientists, may not be feasible until well into the next century, if ever. These are the technologies of laser and particle-beam weapons.

The earliest potential space application of lasers, conceivable in the next five to 10 years, would be to attack enemy satellites or defend friendly satellites. Harold S. Brown, secretary of defense in the administration of President Jimmy Carter, wrote recently that a system of space-based lasers to intercept ballistic missiles, which Mr. Reagan was talking about, "would probably not be feasible before the next century, if ever, and would cost on the order of \$100 billion."

Moreover, Mr. Brown said, "by the time it



was deployed, countermeasures against it would be possible, at lower cost, to prevent the system from operating as a successful ballistic missile defense.

The most advanced laser under consideration is one that works by combining fluorine and hydrogen to produce energy in the form of light. This light is amplified by mirrors within the weapon until it emerges as an intense, highly focused laser beam. A brief pulse of 200 billion watts, which might be possible, could vaporize metal and produce destructive shock waves.

Dr. Garwin, the longtime government adviser, said there was "no indication" that "you can make a big enough laser and point it accurately enough." He was sure, he said, that "I can destroy the system of concentrated large laser satellites, and if I'm going to have a war in which I undertake to attack the U.S. I'm certainly going to have arranged space mines next to the laser satellites to destroy them preemptively."

Particle-beam weapons are at a more rudimentary stage than lasers. Such a weapon would use streams of charged or neutral atomic or subatomic particles, accelerated to intense energies, that would be capable of disabling or destroying spacecraft, or ballistic missiles. Like the laser, the weapon's rays could reach a target at the speed of light.

A 1977 article in *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, a respected trade weekly, disclosed evidence that the Soviet Union had built a giant particle-beam projector on the ground. The Pentagon, however, said that it doubted that the Soviet Union was even close to developing a weapon that could disable missiles. The atmosphere has a scattering effect on a beam shot from the ground into space.

And a major obstacle to deploying a particle-beam weapon in space is the problem of generating enough power to produce a deadly beam. One shot would consume tons of chemical fuel. The only possible practical alternative, scientists suggest, is to operate the weapon with a controlled thermonuclear fusion plant, a technology that is apparently many years away from operation.

Because of the many uncertainties about laser and particle-beam weapons, scientists generally felt that Mr. Reagan was raising false hopes by suggesting the possibility of them serving as an effective missile defense. Dr. Wolfgang K. H. Panofsky, a Stanford University physicist, said that experts in these technologies may be embarrassed by suggestions that "the time has come to accelerate research, saying 'the practitioners in the field are not anywhere near as gung-ho as the president's speech implies.'"

But many scientists who criticized the speech nonetheless said they approved of research and development efforts to explore space-based weaponry to prevent a "technological surprise" by the Soviet Union.

Chinese Students and the U.S. Lure

Many Are Torn Between a New Life and Serving the Motherland

By Jay Mathews

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Huang Li, citizen of China and resident of the United States, lives a double life.

By day, he is a doctoral candidate to sociology at a large East Coast university. By night, he helps write and publish a Chinese journal critical of his country's economic policies and human rights violations.

With all but his most intimate friends, he uses the pen name of Huang Li because he wants to return to China and knows what his night activities in the United States could cost him if his government found out. But Mr. Huang also wants a chance to stay in the United States if the prospects in China do not look good.

Full of patriotic fervor, a hunger for information and a distaste for bureaucracy and repression, Mr. Huang represents a new phenomenon in U.S. relations with China and other Communist states.

No other closed socialist society — certainly not the Soviet Union — has ever risked sending to the United States as many scholars and students as has China in the past three years. The State Department estimates that about 10,000 are in the country and many have decided to stay. The situation poses consequences for Chinese-American relations that policy-makers have just begun to consider.

Beijing has threatened to reduce cultural exchanges when celebrated Chinese like the tennis player Hu Na defect to the United States. But beneath the surface, Chinese officials seem as hasty about the huge student exodus as Deng Xiaoping, the Chinese leader, seemed four years ago, when he said China could stand to lose 10 percent or so of the student horde.

Technology and Contacts

In the words of one American official, the Chinese "are getting more than their money's worth." Beijing has used student exchanges to crack open the rich nut of American technology, political contacts and financial resources. Some Chinese students trying to find American jobs or spouses that would allow them to stay are being quietly reassured by Chinese with official connections that Beijing understands and counts on them to help the motherland as best they can.

The student exchange has offered the Chinese some crude espionage opportunities. But it has also opened up innocent links to American culture, finance and politics that are even more important to Beijing's diplomatic initiative to encircle the U.S.-supported island of Taiwan.

Chinese students and scholars here absorb a great deal of information at little cost to the Chinese government. Chinese living allowances are notoriously small. Many of the students have American relatives. By letting them leave China, Beijing acquires the good will of their often wealthy and influential uncles and cousins in the United States.

The student-exchange program also provides opportunities for the children of the powerful in Beijing. The son of Huang Hua, the former foreign minister, is studying at Harvard University. Mr. Deng's son has studied physics in Rochester, New York. "I think the Chinese government knew the risk they were taking, exposing their people to a different system," said Gregory Tsang, a counselor at North Seattle Community College, who has become a key figure in Chinese cultural exchanges with the Pacific Northwest. "But all things considered, they were willing to take the risk."

Whatever Beijing's attitude, the dangers for Chinese who choose to remain abroad and for U.S. officials who have to accommodate them still remain.

Free and Easy Culture

Many who wish to stay, Mr. Huang said, are lured by the comfortable apartments, the free and easy culture and the high salaries that China may never be able to offer. But what drew them to the United States initially was the chance to learn more about the arts or sciences to which they have devoted their lives. What disturbs them is "the fear that we will not be allowed to be useful when we return to China, and perhaps in the future might be punished for just having studied in America." Mr. Huang said he hopes for better, but added, "My country is not very stable."

It is unclear just how many Chinese have decided to defy government wishes by trying to stay. Celebrated defectors, such as Hu Na, the tennis player, have received much attention. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service reports 1,030 applications for political asylum from Chinese pending at the end of the 1982 fiscal year. The figure represents 10 percent of all Chinese studying in the United States. It has reportedly caused some distress among officials in Beijing.

Eight Chinese were been granted asylum in 1982 and 94 were denied it.

Recently, university administrators here said, some Chinese admitted to American universities have been denied exit permits from China because of apparent concern over loss some of the country's best young minds.

Because of federal privacy rules and Immigration and Naturalization Service procedures, it is difficult to say how many of the asylum applicants are recent arrivals from China.

Duke Austin, an INS spokesman, said the category of "Chinese" applicants includes anyone who was born in China, even if they have spent most of their lives in Japan, France or Taiwan. There are more than 20,000 students from Taiwan in the United States.

INS and State Department spokesmen said asylum applications are kept confidential so that anyone turned down can return to his homeland without being punished for simply trying to defect. Officials familiar with the applications from Chinese say many cannot prove that they risk political persecution on their return and want to remain in the United States only to improve their living standards.

In the meantime, Chinese to the United States remain patriotic in a special way, committed to the ideal of China regaining a place as a great power. "They resent questions like, 'Well, are you going back? Don't you want to stay here?'" It's insulting," said a university professor to California who has sponsored some Chinese students.

"Not everything to this country is just fine," Mr. Huang said. The crime rate is much higher in American cities than it is in China, he said. Also, "sometimes I find the relationships between people here are very cold," he said, adding that he had still managed to make many friends.

John Day, a Harvard junior who knows several of the Chinese studying at the university and has roomed with one of them, said they tend to be uncomfortable at a normally uproarious college party and often stick to themselves. They like concerts and plays, he said, but study so much harder than their American counterparts that their social lives seem thin by comparison. None of the Chinese he has met, Mr. Day said, has ever expressed a desire not to return to China.

Although Chinese react to the attractions and temptations of American life in many different ways, their basic response can often be predicted by simply asking who pays their bills. According to the State Department, about 4,500 of the students and scholars are government-supported, what the Chinese call *gong fei*.

An additional 5,500 are *zi fei*, or self-supported, which usually means friends or relatives in the United States have agreed to act as their financial sponsors and help pay their tuition and living costs.

The self-supported students tend to be younger, more influenced by the economic attractions of American life and freer to plan a strategy for staying on.

Suffered Discrimination

Huang Li came to the United States under the sponsorship of a U.S. university and an American teacher he had met in China. He acknowledges that "people who are not supported by the government — many don't want to go back."

They include many young people whose families, belonging to the class of scholars, landlords and capitalists, once suffered discrimination in China and who lived under a cloud just for having relatives in the United States. They may make up the bulk of asylum applicants.

Government-supported students, often part of some formal exchange program between the Chinese and U.S. governments, have tended to be older and often have wives and children who remain behind in China.

"The *gong fei* students really have no chance to stay, so they don't even want to think about it," said Janet Yang, an American who previously worked in Beijing and now studies at the business school of Columbia University. One professor at a California campus said he sees such students "trying to prolong the experience as long as possible," soaking up U.S. technology and research that will help them to their fields. They also buy many cassette tape recorders and other favored items to ship back home.

Some crumble emotionally under the pressures of American life. "In China, everything is taken care of for you," said Mr. Tsang. "The choices are limited, and you can get used to that. In the United States, you have a lot of choices, but a lot of confusion. How to make a telephone call, how to get downtown, how to see a professor. This is the American spirit, but to some Chinese, it's terrible."

Many Chinese in the United States labor

under severe language difficulties, particularly those who were selected for study abroad through political connections rather than merit. In at least two cases, Chinese students have committed suicide out of apparent despair that they were not keeping up in their studies.

Added to this is the usual sense of political intrigue that follows Chinese wherever they go. On campuses where large numbers of Chinese are studying, officials from Chinese consulates have occasionally visited to warn against associations with Americans of the opposite sex, or attendance at political meetings where life in China might be criticized. Some *zi fei* students, bothered by the close government connections of some *gong fei* students, have tried to keep their campus addresses secret.

American security authorities have long suspected that many of the Chinese (as well as Taiwanese) students also played a part-time espionage role. One California professor said an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation told him the bureau had the Chinese consul in San Francisco under investigation for attempting to steal high-technology secrets with the help of Chinese scholars on some campuses.

But most of the cloak-and-dagger atmosphere involves Chinese vs. Chinese. "Who is to know that in 10 or 15 years, having studied in the United States might be considered politically dangerous?" said a California professor who has lived in China. "So how do you cover yourself?" Some suspect that an attack on the display of a Taiwan flag at the International Center at the University of California, San Diego, by several Chinese scholars grew in part from a need to display loyalty to Beijing and its government.

"You have to be harder on the issue than you have to be if you are back in China," said a California professor who asserted that an upcoming trip to China would be jeopardized if he was identified. "When people go back, they are more or less obliged to hold briefings sessions and make remarks critical of the United States and life here. It's a sad world, but it's the world they have to live in."

Richard T.S. Hsu, a Chinese Petroleum Ministry official studying law at the University of Washington, said visiting Chinese scholars "could have a better life here, but they don't admire this country. ... I find among intellectuals, even those who suffered during the Cultural Revolution (as Mr. Hsu did), they want to return to help the motherland."

Brown and Blue Slacks

Thomas Fingar, director of the U.S.-Chinese relations program at Stanford University, notes that almost all the Chinese students there wear the drab brown and blue slacks and jackets they brought from home. They do not have much money and often do not care about clothes, Mr. Fingar said. But, he added, "Who wants to explain when you go home why you wore American clothes, why you wanted to be different from your comrades?"

Some still hope to change their homeland, including the small band of six students from the Chinese mainland and six ethnic Chinese from other parts of the world who edit the new magazine, *China Spring*, in New York. Led by Wang Bingzhang, 33, a physician who defected after reaching Canada on a Chinese government scholarship, the group has dedicated their journal to the notion that "although the democracy movement within China has been suppressed, it is not dead."

Mr. Huang said the group distributed 6,500 copies of the first issue in the United States. It included articles supporting Chinese political prisoners, especially the young Chinese who were involved to the Democracy Wall movement of the late 1970s. It also contained articles criticizing the Chinese economic "readjustment" policy and the lack of "legal perspective" on the part of the Chinese leader, Hu Yaobang.

Twenty-thousand copies were scheduled to be distributed in Hong Kong this month so that residents could take them to relatives inside China on their traditional Chinese New Year visits. Mr. Huang said the magazine has received more than 2,000 letters, fewer than 10 of them critical, and many from Chinese students studying in America.

Now in his 30s, Mr. Huang was sent to a rural village and then a city factory during the Cultural Revolution. He insists his country is ripe for the same kind of workers' revolt that led to the Solidarity movement in Poland. He has two years left on his visa and sees no difficulty in extending it. But he adds, "I will go back before my study is up if the situation changes," and China seems ready again for economic and political reform.

Jay Mathews, the Los Angeles bureau chief of *The Washington Post*, was its Beijing bureau chief in 1979 and 1980.

No News Is Good News for Burundi
As Progress Heals Wounds of Strife

By Charles T. Powers

Los Angeles Times Service

BUJUMBURA, Burundi — Most leading citizens of this tiny, landlocked Central African country do not take it as a complaint that their nation has been little heard from in the last four or five years.

But it is a compliment, and probably an important one.

It is in the nature of things that strife and tragedy command the biggest share of the world's attention. Slow and steady progress, the struggle to surmount handicaps, the quiet healing of old wounds — all these offer less drama, though they are essential to development. And these are the things that have been going on in Burundi.

"Burundi is a grown-up country, a mature country," President Jean-Baptiste Bagaza said in a recent interview. "The line of this government has been to bring people together in reconciliation."

The latter comment referred to the only time in 21 years of independence that the rest of the world has paid any attention to affairs in Burundi. Following the familiar pattern, it was strife and tragedy that attracted attention.

The conflict was tribal. The result was that the numerically inferior but socially and politically dominant Watutsi tribe systematically killed thousands of Burundi Hutus.

Today, estimates vary widely of the number killed. Some Burundians say that no more than 15,000 died; journalists who covered the conflict in 1972 estimated that the death toll ranged from 150,000 to 300,000.

It was, in any case, one of the bloodiest tribal slaughters in modern African history.

In a nation of only 4 million people, the impact was massive. Thousands of Hutus, who for generations had been held in a sort of feudal serfdom to Watutsi kings and their lords, fled Burundi to Tanzania, Rwanda and Zaire.

Journalists who visited here a decade ago

gaza, then army chief of staff, took over the country in a bloodless coup.

Mr. Bagaza is himself a Watutsi from the southern part of the country, and it is clear that the Watutsi still predominate numerically to the upper reaches of the government and the military. But Western diplomats here give him high praise for trying to erase ethnic distinctions.

In the last three to four years, thousands of Hutus have returned from exile and resumed farming their homesteads in Burundi's mountains and bogs. A head tax that burdened the Hutu peasantry has been eliminated and the landlord-tenant relationship has been abolished. The people who till the land now own it.

And more and more Hutus are being drawn into government, civil service and higher education.

Mr. Bagaza and other high-ranking officials of the government do not like to dwell on this aspect of their rule to Burundi. But as the country evolves, it is likely that the Bagaza government will be remembered best for its efforts to close the most dismal chapter in the country's history.

That does not mean, however, that Burundi's problems are solved. Its per capita income is about \$180 a year. Its population density is among the world's highest. The struggle for fuel has depleted its once lush forests and accelerated erosion. For a generation, its food production has stagnated.

To buy what it needs from the outside world, Burundi depends on its high-quality arabica coffee, which is subject to changes to the weather and the fickle world market. And the export of that coffee, as well as the import of vital commodities such as gasoline and other petroleum products, depends on the good will and stability of Burundi's neighbors, since everything has to be transported to or from the Indian Ocean ports of Mombasa and Dar es Salaam.

It is an expensive and sometimes chancy process. The 1979 war between Tanzania and Uganda, for example, came close to bringing Burundi to its knees. As recently as last year, bandits to Uganda attacked trucks hauling goods to Burundi.

The problems of food production are complicated by the country's mountainous terrain, which makes road-building difficult and isolates

much of the population. About 95 percent of the population lives in scattered family settlements called *rigos*.

Modern industrial and manufacturing development is also moving slowly in Burundi. The few basic industries include a brewery and factories for textiles, cigarettes, matches and a few plastic products.

Almost everything else, including some of the raw materials needed in these concerns, must be imported.

Managerial and technical skills are in short supply. This is hardly surprising in view of the fact that when the Belgians left the country at the time of independence, Burundi did not have a single college graduate.

"Virtually everyone you will meet in the government here spent their childhood in the village," Frances Cook, the U.S. ambassador, said the other day, just before leaving her post in Bujumbura, the capital.

"The progress they have made for this country is nothing short of miraculous."

She pointed out that the Bagaza government has acquired a reputation for prudent and conservative financial management, for marshaling its meager resources. In the process, it has attracted a substantial amount of development aid from foreign governments.

"In Burundi," she said, "the donors have learned that the money gets spent the way it was intended to be spent. They supervise the programs and their accounting is rigorous."

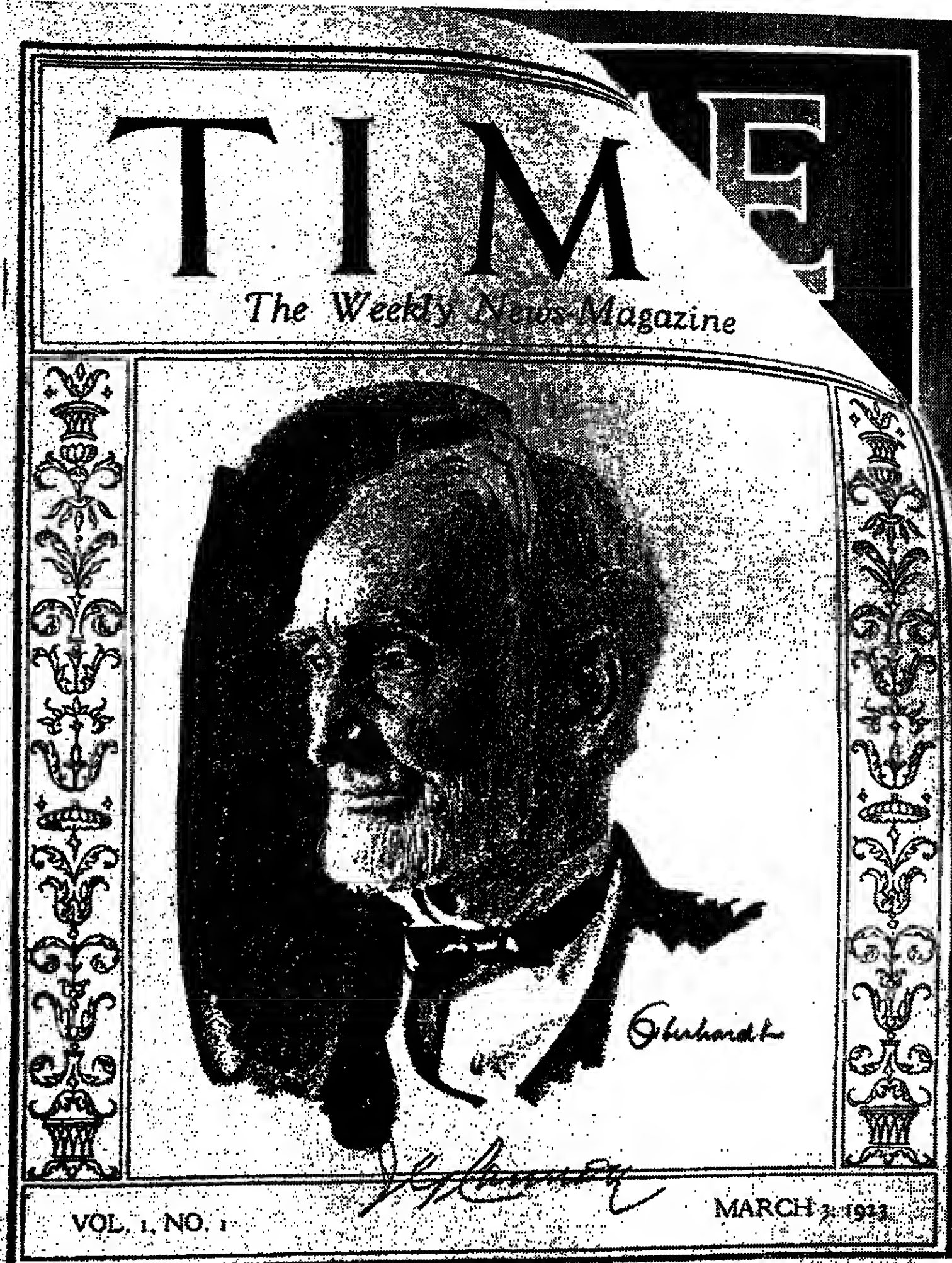
The United States is helping Burundi with road-building and agricultural development among other things. The Chinese are building hydroelectric plants. Belgium, the former colonial power, is still Burundi's biggest single donor, contributing about \$28 million in 1980.

To a visitor, perhaps the most impressive of Burundi's qualities is not that the problems are on the verge of being solved but rather that they are recognized for the serious concerns they are.

"We have some very hard work to perform," said Isidore Nyaboya, the minister of energy, mines and public works.

"As you know, for example, we have a very serious demographic problem. We face the situation of having more mouths to feed every day every week. We have young people who are going to be demanding jobs soon."

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BUSINESS BRIEFS

80 Banks File Papers Seeking Compensation From Ambrosiano

ROME (Reuters) — Italian lawyers for 80 foreign banks seeking a total of \$300 million in compensation for debts owed by Banco Ambrosiano Holding in Luxembourg filed papers seeking the money from Nuovo Banco Ambrosiano in Milan, the lawyers said Tuesday.

The initial hearing is set for June 15 before the Court of Milan, a spokesman of the Grizzardi law firm in Rome said.

The creditor banks are basing their case on Italian banking law, arguing that the liquidated Banco Ambrosiano was responsible for the debts of its Luxembourg subsidiary, and that this responsibility passed to Nuovo Banco Ambrosiano.

Chrysler Issues 26 Million Shares

DETROIT (AP) — Chrysler Corp. issued 26 million common shares Tuesday in a complex deal intended to eliminate about \$1.1 billion in preferred shares now held by Chrysler's creditors. The offer was quickly sold out.

The stock, sold to the public at Monday's Chrysler closing price of \$16.625 a share, raised about \$432 million as part of Chrysler's recapitalization.

The proceeds from the sale and about 10 million new Chrysler common shares will be given to Chrysler's creditors in mid-May in exchange for \$1.1 billion in face value of preferred shares and 10.6 million warrants, the No. 3 U.S. automaker said.

The shares are being sold before a May 5 stockholders' meeting, where the recapitalization will be put to a vote. If the plan fails, the proceeds of the stock sale would go directly to Chrysler. The creditors would retain the preferred shares and warrants they received in 1980 as part of the Chrysler bailout.

French, Japanese Get Order

TOKYO (Reuters) — A French-Japanese consortium of three companies has won an 80-billion-yen (\$333-million) order from the National Electricity Board of Malaysia for a 900-megawatt power plant to be built at Paku, Trengganu state, by December 1985, Toshiba Corp. said Tuesday.

The consortium consists of Toshiba, Mitsui & Co. of Japan and Alstom-Atlantique of France.

Baldwin-United Gets Extension

NEW YORK (NYT) — Financially troubled Baldwin-United Corp. said that its banks had agreed at the last minute to a one-week extension of \$400 million in debt payments that had been due Monday.

The financial-services company also announced Monday afternoon that its 1982 earnings would be "substantially less" than the \$125 million to \$130 million previously estimated. For the first nine months of last year, Baldwin-United had reported profits of \$90.5 million. It has not yet reported fourth-quarter results, which it said would include a restatement of earnings for the first nine months.

Baldwin-United also said that the one-week extension for the debt payment would give the creditors an opportunity to examine the company's books to determine whether the company's finances justified a further extension.

Some U.K. Takeovers Cleared

LONDON (Reuters) — The Trade Department on Tuesday cleared Standard Telephone and Cable's purchase of International Aeradio from state-owned British Airways. The department said the purchase would not be referred to the Monopolies Commission.

It also cleared Rank Organisation's acquisition of Humphries Film Laboratories, and Lin Pac Containers' purchase of some assets from Arthur Guinness Sons & Co.

The Trade Department also cleared Booker McConnell Co.'s purchase of control of Ibec Co. and the merger of Hamilton Oil G.B. and Hamilton International Corp.

EC Levies Steel-Dumping Duties

BRUSSELS (Reuters) — The European Community Commission Monday announced the imposition of provisional anti-dumping duties against some steel imports from Argentina, Brazil, Canada and Venezuela.

The commission said that imports from these four countries of iron or steel coils for re-rolling rose to take 5.5 percent of the EC market last year, up from 1.1 percent in 1981.

The commission said the imports were undercutting community prices by up to 25 percent.

Stern Free of £143-Million Debt

LONDON (UPI) — William Stern, a British property developer, has been cleared of debts totaling £143 million (\$214.5 million) in return for a payment of £500,000 over three years.

But the High Court judge hearing the case Monday suspended Mr. Stern's discharge from bankruptcy for two years, saying that he was "not persuaded to find that it would be wise to release Mr. Stern on the business world yet."

The judge, Sir Raymond Walton, granted the discharge from bankruptcy after major creditors that were owed a total of £60 million had withdrawn their objections.

U.S. Says Deficit In Trade Rose

WASHINGTON — The U.S. merchandise trade deficit was \$3.58 billion in February, only slightly worse than in January, as exports to Mexico strengthened while oil imports dropped sharply, the government said Tuesday.

Because of improving exports and shrinking purchases of oil and other imports, the Commerce Department Tuesday lowered its 1983 deficit projection by about \$10 billion. The new forecast called for a merchandise trade deficit this year no higher than \$60 billion, still a record but not as bad as feared just a month ago.

The \$50 billion-to-\$60 billion deficit range is considerably less than the initial projections last year of as much as \$80 billion.

In January the trade deficit was a revised \$3.57 billion, the smallest in six months.

Despite the lower cost of oil, most analysts still expect demand for imports to eventually grow in the United States along with economic recovery and for exports to continue to erode.

Imports in February were \$19.9 billion, down 5 percent from January and 6.3 percent below the

monthly import average for all of last year, the department said.

Exports in February were \$16.3 billion, down 6.1 percent from January and 7.7 percent below the monthly average for 1982.

Japan Posts Trade Surplus — Japan exported about \$2.1 billion more than it imported in February, giving February a trade surplus, after a deficit in January, the Finance Ministry said Tuesday.

The ministry said exports were slightly more than \$11 billion, off 4.5 percent from February 1982, but that imports fell at a faster rate, dropping 13.5 percent, to \$8.9 billion.

A ministry spokesman said that increased exports of steel, ships and tape recorders accounted for most of the export revenues.

French Retail Prices Rise — PARIS — French retail prices rose 0.7 percent in February after increases of 0.9 percent in both January and December, the government said Tuesday.

U.S. Aide Lauds Efforts by Peru Concerning Debt

LIMA — R. Timothy McNamar, the U.S. Treasury undersecretary, said that Peru would be able to "re-calibrate" foreign-debt payments but that a return to sound financial footing could take months.

"Peru has distinguished itself, standing alone and above other (Latin American) countries, in what is a difficult international lending time," Mr. McNamar said Monday during a press conference.

Mr. McNamar and five U.S. congressmen have been on a Latin American tour.

Peru recently told its foreign-bank lenders that it was deferring principal payments on its foreign debt until June 1, and it asked for \$880 million in new loans.

"We have been impressed by Peru's underlying economic plan and the professional way with which it presented its recalibration plan to the banks," Mr. McNamar said.

"We have full confidence the broad outlines (of the plan) will be achieved, although it will not be in days or weeks but will take months," he said.

U.S. Chipmakers Say Orders Up, See the Possibility of Recovery

By Thomas C. Hayes
New York Times Service
LOS ANGELES — The makers of electronic chips in the United States, after suffering through poor sales last autumn and early winter, appear to be in the first stage of a recovery.

Semiconductor companies, as well as their suppliers and independent distributors, say orders have been climbing moderately since the start of the year. The growth, however, parallels a similar, although less robust, rise in orders at this time last year. That rise expired by midsummer. As a result, many executives say they are wary of raising production rates too rapidly.

"What we are talking about is a strengthening of incoming orders," said Andrew S. Grove, president and chief operating officer of Intel Corp., a major semiconductor manufacturer. "It is not exuberant, not phenomenal, but definitely stronger than expected."

Figures for March are not yet available, but in February new orders recorded in the United States and Europe by silicon chip makers in the United States totaled \$533.1

million, according to the Semiconductor Industry Association. That was a 13 percent increase from January's \$471.7 million in orders and 16 percent above the \$459.5 million value of the orders in February 1982.

In addition, the index of new orders to shipments, known as the book-to-bill ratio, also shows rising demand. In February, the figure was 1.17, up from 1.03 in January and 1.06 in February 1982.

Last year, orders rose to \$594.8 million in April and to \$615.8 million in May, before falling off in June to \$574.4 million and to \$500.6 million in July.

What many analysts now refer to as last year's false start in the industry occurred because distributors began stocking large inventories in anticipation of a surge in orders. That burst of sales, fed in particular by demand from makers of personal computers, abated after a few months. By midsummer many distributors, encouraged by chip makers to place orders before supply became tight because of possible production limits, were caught

overstocked and it took months to use up inventories.

This time, distributors say the rise in orders is stronger than a year ago and orders are coming not just from companies whose chips inventories have run low but also from those that have scheduled increased production rates for the summer.

"This is not an esoteric happening this time," said Robert Throop, president and chief executive of Anthem Electronics, a distributor that supplies semiconductor users primarily in the Western United States.

Most electronic chip users, such as military, aerospace, telecommunications and computer manufacturers have not begun to increase their inventories, he said.

Those companies are ordering, however, and it is their activity that has led many analysts, such as Elliott Levine of First Manhattan Co. and James Barlage of Smith Barney, Harris Upham to predict a broadly based rise in demand through the year. Prices are still weak, they noted, but chip makers began stretching delivery times to as much as four weeks in February.

Video Industry Agrees On Recorder Standard

NEW YORK (NYT) — More than 120 companies from around the world have agreed on a common standard for the next generation of videocassette recorders.

Gathered at a special conference here, the electronics, tape and camera manufacturers settled Monday on a format based on quarter-inch (6.4-millimeter) cassette tape. The current generation of video recorders uses half-inch tape.

The agreement is the result of more than a year of discussions among the companies, led by the major Japanese manufacturers, who account for about 90 percent of world production. Such large U.S. companies as Eastman Kodak and 3M participated in the talks.

With the agreement, the companies seem to have insured that they will avoid the format problem that has plagued consumers and manufacturers of the current generation of video recorders. The problem stems from the fact that current recorders use three different, incompatible formats.

In the past few years, Sony, Matsushita and Hitachi have made prototypes of smaller video camera and recorder systems. But they have held off further design and production plans while awaiting agreement on a future standard.

Japanese producers say it will be at least a year before quarter-inch recorders will be marketed.

The companies predict that the smaller systems will be used in much the same way as home-movie cameras and projectors are now, expanding the video market considerably and making conventional products obsolete.

And like the current video recorders, the smaller-format machines will be able to record television programs for later viewing.

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OBSERVER

Viewing vs. Parenting

By Russell Baker

NEW YORK — Although "today's busy world" has become one of our time's most commonplace excuses for incompetence, I hadn't realized how busy it really is until "One Minute Bedtime Story" came along. Here we have popular children's stories condensed — according to the advertising copy — "so they can be read by a busy parent in only one minute."

The compiler-condenser, Shari Lewis, thought the book would be an aid for working parents who do not want to read to their children but just don't have the time or energy for the much longer versions of these tales," the ad says.

As a veteran reader of bedtime stories, I am appalled. A bedtime story should last as long as it takes for the sandman to close the children's eyes. Unless you are dealing with a very sick child, one minute will not do the job.

Nor is one minute enough time for the parents to get interested in the story. Even the best bedtime stories usually take a parent three or four minutes to become involved, what with the dull thicket of "once upon a time" and "there lived a beautiful princess" and "one day a handsome young prince" to be traversed before the action starts.

Once the ogre, the had fairy or the evil witch is introduced, though, I'm often ready to read for the rest of the night, and if the story is a real grabber I become irritated if the children drop off, since it's embarrassing when another adult enters the room, finds the children asleep and sees you reading a bedtime story to yourself because you should know how it comes out.

Why it should be more embarrassing for a parent to be caught reading himself a bedtime story than to be caught watching television is a mystery, but nevertheless it is a mystery.

I mention television viewing because that, presumably, is what parents who want to read to their children but don't have time or energy to do it for more than one minute do when the one-minute bedtime story is finished. This assumption rests on the statistic that

the typical American watches five hours — or 300 minutes — of television daily.

Considering that work, sleep, dressing, bathing and getting to and from work must take at least 20 hours of the parental day, and allowing for the fact that the parent spends a minute reading to the children, the parent is obviously going to need a 25-hour-and-a-minute day to cram in his five hours of TV viewing, and of course we haven't invented that kind of day yet.

My guess is that the parent who off some of the television viewing while working and eating, but even then there isn't going to be much time left to fill the daily viewing quota between the bedtime story and midnight.

This is probably why it's embarrassing to be caught reading a bedtime story but not embarrassing to be caught watching television. A person who is caught reading a bedtime story is a person who is derelict about meeting his television quota.

I don't want to suggest that there is something wrong about getting three or four minutes of television after you've read your one-minute bedtime story. Evening television, after all, is really just bedtime stories for grown-ups.

For people who turn in after prime time, the stories are out in a class with Hans Christian Andersen's as a rule. Even those who stay up to watch the local TV newspeople summarize the police blotter don't hear bedtime stories as hair-raising as the Grimm fairy tales the children get earlier.

It seems unfair that parents must settle for second best at bedtime, but what is parenthood if not graceful submission to unfairness? This is another thing I don't like about the one-minute bedtime story. It looks suspiciously as if the parents are so miffed about having to settle for television's humdrum bedtime stories that they are deliberately cutting back on the good stuff for the children.

Still, the idea behind one-minute bedtime story is not without merit if applied to the right things. Take the school play, for instance. Has any parent ever sat through a school play that deserved to go on longer than one minute?

New York Times Service

Randy Newman

A Cookie Monster Gets Recognition From a Girl in a Neck Brace

By Tom Zito

Washington Post Service

LOS ANGELES — Randy Newman is minding his own business in a Beverly Hills coffee shop when up steps a young woman in a miniskirt and neck brace. "I love your new album," she says, and walks away. "Write this down," says the 39-year-old songwriter. "Randy Newman recognized by girl with head ock." If I ever write an autobiography, I might call it "Escape from Celebrity: How to Do Stuff to Avoid Success." I've never been the kind of guy who they had to announce. "Tricks go on sale at 10 o'clock Monday morning" — at 10 o'clock in fact Newman recently sold out an 8 P.M. show and all but 100 tickets for an 11 P.M. show in Los Angeles. "My last record sold 100,000 copies. It's tough going onstage and singing 'Lonely at the Top' in front of six people."

"I've sort of given up hoping for mass acceptance. I'm not happy about it. I'm not crushed. I have a career. A lot of people don't. When I'm up on stage, I only look uncomfortable. I'm not. I love it. I'm shallow enough to enjoy the applause."

He also enjoys animal crackers.

"You know," he said, holding up a box of the standard Nabisco variety by its little shoelace handle, "as a child I loved decapitating these things, just biting their heads off, particularly the gorilla. I can tell you something else about cookies. When I was a kid, one of my uncles used to love to eat Lorna Doones. I didn't want them near my mouth! It was like eating sawdust. But now, as I approach my middle years, I find eating Lorna Doones very comforting. I must be maturing."

Which may account for Newman's most recent endeavor: "I've been working on an opera. A modern-day Faust. I love opera. It's just that the stories are usually so dumb, or too long. In my opera, Faust is a kid going to college at Notre Dame. The devil gets a ridiculous deal with him, gets the kid to sell his soul for a

look at Raquel Welch nude. There's a scene where the devil goes to a Jerry Lewis film festival in Paris."

Newman was eating a hot turkey sandwich and mashed potatoes so fast that he had trouble getting the words out. When he finished a gigantic mouthful, he explained that when he was a child his family would "eat tremendously fast so my father could get back to work" as an internist. Newman said his father was once the physician to Howard Hughes, who he said used to wake Dr. Newman in the middle of the night and deliver to his door women whose health Hughes wanted certified before he would sleep with them.

Old habits die hard. "I'm still that way about eating. My wife and I go to a dinner party and I sit down and eat like this" — his fork becomes a blur between his plate and his mouth — "for five minutes and then I sit there and go like this" — moving his hand in a circular, come-on motion — "trying to get them to hurry up and eat. I don't know why anybody invites me out."

This is not to imply that Newman has made a career of acting like a boor. He is a shy, charming character who uses often self-deprecating humor to put himself at ease around others.

His parenthetical statements have helped make Newman's music personal and enduring over the past decade and a half. His new album, "Trouble in Paradise," uses them on several songs. There's one about a "Real Emotional Girl" who "even cries in her sleep," to really carry the point home, Newman adds, in the next line, "I've heard her." There's "Mike's," set in an old beer joint that has become a New Wave club.

Didn't used to be this ugly music playing all the time. Where are we, on the moon? Whenever happened to the old songs, Mike's Like the Duke of Earl.

"My 14-year-old son, Amos, hates that song," Newman said.



Tom Zito, The Washington Post

Escaping from celebrity.

"He has a punk band called 'Armed Response.' He's an anarchist, my 14-year-old son. I think he really wants to blow things up. He listens to this music that nobody has ever heard of here. I was in London a month ago and I managed to find some of it on cassettes. You can't even find records by these bands." Then he diffuses his own alarm: "Just like mine."

It is a fact that Newman has not been the most successful recording artist in history. The critics have always loved him, but "They don't buy records. I've always been a shaky economic proposition." Of the eight albums and two sound tracks he has made in 14 years, only one has been a gold record: 1977's "Little Criminals," which contained the hit "Short People."

They got little tiny legs And they stand so low You got to pick 'em up Just to say hello.

It's conceivable that "Little Criminals" sold as well as it did because of the controversy it generated. Short people all over the country tried to get the song banned. And since this was actually a song about prejudice, the reaction puzzled Newman and eventually prompted him to say, "Maybe I was right about the little pukes all along."

He has never been one to mince words. His 1974 album, "Good Old Boys," is one of the classic works of popular music, a song cycle about the South that begins with the much-banned

"Rednecks." "Last night I saw Lester Maddox on a TV show. Well he may be a fool but he's our fool."

This sarcastic spirit recurs on "Trouble in Paradise," with Newman's world view now moved to Southern California. In "My Life Is Good" he sings about taking a trip to Mexico with his wife and bringing back a girl to clean house, take the kids to school, even write his songs. Later he rails at a teacher in "The private school our oldest child attends (many famous people send their children there)."

"I don't really know where my songs come from. I live a very boring life. Music is work for me. Maybe that's from being around my uncles so much." Lionel, Emil and Alfred Newman all composed movie sound tracks. "When I was a kid and taking piano lessons, sometimes I'd have to play at family get-togethers on Sunday and I always knew that these guys were tolerating me. Their idea of music was not to sit there and listen to some 9-year-old kid playing Liszt."

"Even today, I can't just sit down and listen to music for fun. I have to look myself up and force myself to write. I'm particularly happy about this record because I'm getting older and I've found out that I can still write. There's not much longevity in this business. I mean, Mick Jagger sort of looks like a Miami Beach matron now, still doing what he was doing 15 years ago. I find that I get most of my pleasure now from reading. You read somebody like Updike and you say, 'Yeah, you can get older and get better.'"

"I did a tour of Europe last month. The weirdest part for me was finding out that they like me better in, say, Stuttgart than in Kansas City. My staff is American. They understand that in Kansas City too well. In Germany, there's something literary about my work. They even sell translations of my songs outside the concert hall."

"I was sitting in my hotel room in Germany one night before a show and this three-hour special came on the radio. 'Mr. Newman's ans Hollywood.' They played 45 minutes of my uncles' music. I turned the radio off. I turned it on a half hour later and they were playing my music. I was pinching myself to make sure I wasn't dead."

PEOPLE

No Magritte B

The widow of the Belgian Surrealist painter René Magritte has failed to secure a long-term ban on sales in Belgium of a book alleging that her husband faked works by Picasso and other artists. Presiding Magistrate Albert Jonaert said in a Brussels court that he would not renew a 10-day ban on the book, "Memory's Raft." Lawyers for

Georgette Magritte, 82, had sought to renew the ban pending a libel suit she has brought against Marcel Marien, the writer, and his publishers. Jonaert said a decision to outlaw sales of the book could prejudice the suit. In "Memory's Raft," Marien said that Magritte, who died 15 years ago, painted and sold fakes during World War II because he was short of cash. Marien said these included works by Picasso, Georges Braque and fellow Surrealists Max Ernst, Salvador Dali and Giorgio de Chirico. Marien, a member of the Surrealist circle, said that most of the faked works were in private collections and major galleries, and that he had been instrumental in helping sell them.

In Phoenix, Arizona, Giovanni Vigliotto, 53, who was convicted of bigamy and fraud after he testified that he married 105 women, has been given a sentence of 34 years in prison and fined \$336,000. Society needs to be protected from this individual," said Superior Court Judge Rufus C. Coulter Jr. Coulter denied a defense motion for a new trial. Vigliotto testified for three days in his own behalf after three women told the court he had married them and swindled them out of cash and property.

When Camille Saint-Saëns wrote "Carnival of the Animals" in 1886, he called it a "grand zoological fantasy." When the poet Ogden Nash wrote words to go with Saint-Saëns's music more than half a century later, he offered his own interpretation: that the composer, "tacked with pains/When people addressed him as 'Saint-Saëns,' decided 'to glorify other forms of life' and write a 'salute to feathers, furs and fins.'" When Nancy Reagan agreed to do the light-hearted Nash narration before an audience of prominent Washingtonians at the Kennedy Center, she called it a gesture of friendship. The occasion was a National Symphony Orchestra benefit for the

Pensio Fund. The original was to have been Princess Grace Monaco, who was asked to appear with the orchestra by an old friend, Mstislav Rostropovich, the conductor. The evening's guests of honor were two of the late princess's children, Princess Caroline and Prince Albert.

Loren Craft, the arts and entertainment editor of The Daily News in New York, has acknowledged that the advertising policy of Broadway musical influenced the newspaper's coverage of the show — or, rather, lack thereof. The musical is the revival of "On Your Toes," starring the ballerina Natalia Makarova, which opened March 6. The production received a rave review from Douglas Wills with the News critic, and a poor review from Frank Rich of The New York Times. The producers of "On Your Toes" then took two full-page advertisements in The Times, quoting Wills's review, but they did not advertise in The News. Craft said he turned down a press agent's request for feature stories about the musical "because we were lousy over the way this particular show used our editorial copy." He added: "This is not a public charity. We live on advertising. We do not advertise in our coverage of Broadway." Craft said the producers' use of Wills's review was "unethical." He said that Craft, her husband had ordered her not to mention it show.

Lillian Hellman has never revealed who was the model for the title character of her story "Julia," a fictionalized account of how the novelist-playwright helped an American friend active in the Austrian resistance to Hitler. Now Yale University Press plans to publish "Julia" with the name Mary, the memoirs of Muriel Gardiner, an American who was active in the underground anti-Nazi movement from 1934 until the outbreak of war in 1939. In the introduction to the book, Gardiner says she never met Hellman but had close friends who knew her well, which might account for Hellman's apparently knowing about Gardiner's activities.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Woman's Chorus

of La Follie Harmonie Inc.

from Madison, Wisconsin, USA

1983 EUROPEAN TOUR

Wed. 8 April, 12:30pm

American Cathedral of Paris

Fri. 8 April, 8pm

Nôtre Dame Cathedral

Fri. 9 April, 8:30pm

Sacre Coeur Cathedral

(Dinner Menu)

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